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A LETTER FROM THE PUBLISHER



RANGE IN SAIGON



ROWAN IN PHNOM-PENH



STEWART IN 'NAM, 1972

В

Suddenly the war in Viet Nam was a big story again. TIME Saigon Bureau Chief Peter Range was hardly back from covering the desperate situation in Cambodia when the South Vietnamese government decided to abandon a large portion of the country in a strategic withdrawal. After a hectic scramble for transportation, Range managed to cadge a seat on a flight to Danang, terminus for streams of refugees from the northern provinces. His eyewitness report accompanies this week's cover story. Meanwhile, heavy reinforcements of journalists from round the world were deployed to Saigon to help cover Viet Nam's darkening struggle, as noted in this week's Press section. Among them were TIME's newly appointed Tokyo bureau chief William Stewart, who spent 1966-70 "in country" with the State Department, and London correspondent William McWhirter, who reported the American buildup in Viet Nam for TIME from 1965 to 1967. Both got in touch with political and military sources to try to find out what the massive retreat would mean to President Thieu and his long-suffering country. Dispatches from all three correspondents formed the basis of the analysis of Viet Nam's crisis written by Richard Bernstein with the assistance of Reporter-

Over in Cambodia, Hong Kong Bureau Chief Roy Rowan, who covered the collapse of Chiang Kai-shek's army for LIFE in 1949, reported that table talk among journalists in Phnom-Penh has turned abruptly and urgently to plans for escape. As if to underline the threat, a Khmer Rouge 105mm. rocket last week blasted out windows in the Ministry of Education building where Rowan was conducting an interview. Rowan inspected one jagged shard of shrapnel still hot from the explosion.

Researcher Betty Suyker.

A different sort of explosion shook the American press when it was revealed that the Central Intelligence Agency had salvaged part of a Soviet submarine sunk three miles deep in the mid-Pacific. The salvage operation, it is now known, was contracted out to a corporation controlled by Hermit-Billionaire Howard Hughes. TIME correspondents in Washington, Los Angeles and other cities probed confidential sources for details of the bizarre

operation. The story was made to order for Associate Editor David Tinnin, author of Just About Everybody v. Howard Hughes (Doubleday, 1973), a study of Hughes' victorious ten-year legal war against the nation's financial establishment. Tinnin is working on a second book-on an assassination campaign by an intelligence agency. He views the Hughes-CIA link caustically as "a wedding of our most secret agency and our most secretive citizen."

> Ralph P. Davdson INDEX

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People___55 The Cover: Photographs (left to right): UPI, AP, Willie Vicoy-UPI.

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Henry R. Luce 1898, 1941

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Playing Taps

AT LONG LAST LOVE Directed and Written by PETER BOGDANOVICH

This Cole Porter coloring book, mounted with great expense and no taste, is one of those grand catastrophes that make audiences either hoot in derisive surprise or look away in embarrassment. Everyone smells blood: people in the movie industry talk disaster, and they do not mean burning office buildings or crippled airplanes; critics move the heavy artillery into place. This may be just the moment, then, if only out of simple charity, to attempt an



SHEPHERD & REYNOLDS IN LOVE Breakdown or break?

uneasy truce with Peter Bogdanovich. Bogdanovich's movies (like What's Up, Doc? and Paper Moon) are so smugly derivative of other, older directors that they seem virtually selfless. In his various media appearances, he comes on either as an unwired stand-up comic or an eager foil for Cybill Shepherd, his well-publicized but untalented girl friend. One has to go back to Targets, Bogdanovich's exciting first feature, to remember that he was a director of talent and promise

No evidence of that here. At Long Last Love is the untidy summation of a career that has become lost in synthetic giddiness. There are 16 Cole Porter tunes, so many that the movie seems to be strung together from a series of song cues. What passes for plot concerns the romances of two couples-Burt Reynolds and, inevitably, Cybill Shepherd; Madeline Kahn and Duilio Del Prete -as they sing and dance through some

smoggy dream of the '30s. The couples do not sing very well, though, and in dancing resemble a troop of hikers trying to extinguish a campfire.

This may have been the point-a naturalistic musical in a fairy-tale setting. But none of the cast is either energetic or winning enough to make that interpretation believable. Even the few with musical training-like Kahn or Eileen Brennan, who appears as a crony of Shepherd's-flounder badly. Bogdanovich directs with such headlong uncertainty that obviously satiric numbers (Give Me a Primitive Man) come to look more like self-parody. The sets and costumes are of such resplendent ugliness that they go beyond campiness

At Long Last Love might best be remembered as the movie that asks-or. unfortunately, sings-the question "Is it a breakdown, or merely a break?" That line from the title song might most appropriately be addressed to Bogdanovich himself. At Long Last Love cost \$6 million, but might almost be worth it if the movie represented the low point of Bogdanovich's talent-the point from Jay Cocks

which he can only ascend. Honor Bound

THE YAKUZA Directed by SYDNEY POLLACK Screenplay by PAUL SCHRADER and ROBERT TOWNE

A cultural footnote: the Yakuza in Japan is very much like the Mafia Stateside: a clandestine and very powerful criminal organization with heavy political connections. The Yakuza has its own code of conduct but, typically, the code has a kind of fearful stringency that makes the Mafia look by comparison like a gang of clubhouse rowdies

This movie, a fitful action adventure starring an excellent Robert Mitchum, must first explain all about the Yakuza to uninitiated Westerners, so that the whole opening seems like an orientation course. The plot that has been contrived to go along with all this Yakuza lore is not a wieldy thing either. It has to do mostly with layers of intrigue and betraval that end when Mitchum and a single ally (the engagingly somber Takakura Ken) take on what looks like the entire criminal population of Tokyo. This face-off makes for a bloody and modestly spectacular finale, but it is long in coming

Precisely what Robert Mitchum is doing in Japan becomes a sticky point. Mitchum plays, rather snugly, a former private eye from California named Hary Kilmer whose pal Tanner (Brian Keith) calls an old marker on him. Tanner has promised to sell the Yakuza some guns but failed to deliver. In reprisal, the Yakuza has kidnaped his

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MITCHUM IN THE YAKUZA Serpentine strands.

daughter and is threatening to kill her. As it happens, Kilmer was stationed in Japan during the American occupation and supported a Japanese girl whose brother, thought to have been killed in the war, returned home and became

Though he has been out of the organization for a deeade, the brother is compelled by honor to help Kilmer. The Yakaza is much concerned with the Yakaza is much concerned with the matters of duty. The obligation is a burden, but the brother takes a grave pride in helping his sister's old lover. What is canny in this movie is the way these various obligations are made to snake around each other, then abruptly thrust inward to threaten and destroy. Unfortunate and the control of the c

Mystical Grace. Director Sydney Pollack (They Shoot Horses, Don't They? and The Way We Were) is not a master of the action genre. The Yakuza's scenes of violence lack real force. For all the slashings, knife fights and ritual sacrificing of fingers, the film is, strangely, not violent enough. It does not catch at all the awful mystical grace that can draw and hold a man to such a life. The violence is held down, whereas the intricacies of the Yakuza are too extensively explained. The movie would have been more chilling had it been stranger, if all the ritual and violence were part of a world that was wholly mysterious-and therefore more immediate. more threatening. *1.C

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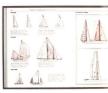
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Romance of the Century

AND NOW MY LOVE

Directed by CLAUDE LELOUCH Screenplay by CLAUDE LELOUCH and PETER LYTTERHOEVEN

It is asking a good dead of a film to expect in not only to depict history to enhance it. At the start of his new most exhaust electhon begins hive a silent movie. In the begins like a silent movie in the begins like a silent movie in the origination of the century, a Parisian cameraman (Charles Denneri is tripic and his marvelous new movie machine in a gark. He focuses on a lovely woman that follows, he marries her, abe become regenant, and he gets news of the birth of his daughter moments before he is killed during the first World War.

Twenty-five years later the daughter, now grown up, meets a boy, both played again by Keller and Denner. The meeting itself is extraordinary, a moment of strangeness and promise. It cosengers who are the devastated vissengers who are the devastated vissengers who are the devastated visof the scene, the devastated of the faces, is awful. Yet Lelouch challenges our usal response by having a radio play Glenn Miller's Monnight Savernade in the back starker relief. The passengers are starker relief. The passengers are



DENNER IN AND NOW Grand passion.

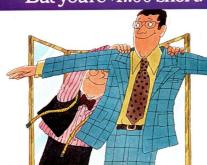
vealed not as victims but a survivors being ushered into the postwar world. Girchrotrantely, all this is kind of an Girchrotrantely, all this is kind of an Officer than each experience of the film. Despite Leloukris insubstantial reputation, based on the success of A Man and at least two witty, true love stories (Love Ita Funny Thing and Happy New Year). And New My Love, Lelouks bastras to equal them, then turns away and instead would be supercopreductionally and the supercopreduction of the Company and the Supercopreduction of the Supercopreduction of

CINEMA

The offspring of the couple on the train is a young woman (Keller, naturally) of great means and unhappy passions. The man she eventually meets (André Dussollier) is a commercial director turned feature film maker who possesses the sort of airy style one inevitably associates with Lelouch himself. And Now My Love mostly has to do with bringing these two prospective paramours together. Lelouch relentlessly follows their separate stories until he sits his lovers down next to each other on a flight from Paris to New York. We have it from the director himself that a grand passion is born right there in first class. Lelouch illustrates this new state of affairs by showing the lovers' separate suitcases cozying up to each other

on the baggage ramp American Title. Such gushy infelicities are far more common in And Now My Love than the hard enterprise of the train sequence. The movie looks, overall, like one of the hero's commercials. There is an appearance by the singercomposer Gilbert Bécaud, whose most famous composition gave this film its American title. His presence seems a wholly unnecessary novelty, and his songs are performed on the sound track with no-nonsense billing in the subtitles. "Sung by Gilbert Bécaud" flashes on the screen every time a scrap of melody is played. It is not the sort of thing to brag about.

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TIME

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AMERICAN NOTES

Expanding the Mandate

When it was established in 1947, the National Security Council was assigned the task of advising "the President with respect to the integration of domestic. foreign, and military policies . . . with respect to national security." In the ensuing years the term national security has come to be seen as a question of military preparedness and related foreign policy planning. General Maxwell Tavlor, retired Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, thinks it is now time that the definition and the NSC were broadened. Writing in the winter 1975 issue of Orbis, a quarterly journal of world affairs. Taylor maintains that in the next period of world development the U.S. will find that "the main threats to our security, at least in their initial stages, will take nonmilitary form." As a prime example he offers the 1973 hike in oil prices by the OPEC nations, which he calls "a kind of economic Pearl Harbor in which warnings bearing on its imminence were either ignored, misread, or filed without reaching the officials responsible for action."

The better to anticipate and forecast the effects of such dislocations in resources, Taylor proposes creation of a sources, Taylor proposes creation of a bean expansion of the SSC from its present four members—the President, Verenistent, Secretary of State and Secretary of Defense—to seven, adding the off-beath, Education and Welfare and a presidentially appointed representative of the economic sector. Policy planning and research would be throadened and larty, economic, fiscal/monetary and

public welfare. The four panels would work with relevant departments in Government and offer recommendations—but steer clear of decision making. Such an NPC might be so large it would become as unwieldy as the Executive Branch, but Taylor is surely right in suggesting a new emphasis on the interdependency of military and nonmilitary planning in the years ahead.

Maladministration

As a further hedge against age and sex discrimination, the Department of Labor will issue a supplement to its Dictionary of Occupational Titles in May. rendering job titles inoffensively neuter if offensively bland and even silly The fully revised fourth edition of the dictionary will not be out until 1976. but the department has decided that now is the time for all good neuters to come to the aid of their job descriptions. Had the dictionary's compilers held sway in an earlier time, Arthur Miller's play could have been called Death of a Sales Representative, and that wellknown refugee from Krypton might have been named Superperson

Something seems lost in the translation, but henceforth, says the department, a brewmaster will perform his duties as a brewing consultant. A governess will be a child mentor. In an incomprehensibly backward step, a valet will be known as a gentleman's attendant. One will henceforth be seen into the world by a birth attendant, not a midwife. And an offal man's duties in slaughterhouses and meat-packing plants will become the awful work of an offal separator. What of the Labor Department's own Manpower Administration? Says a spokesperson: "They haven't figured that one out yet."

All Clear?

To someone, somewhere-but whom?-the memorandum circulated recently at Harvard Business School's division of computer service doubtless made perfect sense. It read, in full: "We have been informed by DEC that a bug in the normalization algorithm used in three MACRO instructions (FADL, FSBL and FMPL) can cause a FORTRAN double precision compare to give incorrect results. A double precision compare should be accurate to 16 digits. This bug can cause the compare to give incorrect results in the ninth digit. We will notify all users as soon as we receive a solution to the problem from DEC

Ordinary mortals might blanch at such howlingly incomprehensible computerese, but the message turned out to be, if not altogether graspable, at least mildly approachable. The errant computer in question was built by Digital Equipment Corporation (DEC) and installed at Harvard five years ago, presumably reliably analyzing data at a steady, comforting clip. No one discovered until early this month that it was inaccurate in, of all places, the ninth digit -still quite serviceable for run-of-themill computer wizardry, but not the very best the machine was fully capable of Some infinitesimally remote calculation was slipping ever so slightly out of its grasp. The flaw is so minuscule a problem that most routine users probably would not discover it unless they were weighing electrons, and the Harvard computer is due to be corrected shortly. What, in plain language, is the matter? "I could explain the whole problem to you," said an assistant manager at the business school, "but it would take sev-

eral hours and a blackboard." Thanks



SOUTH VIETNAMESE REFUGEES FLEEING SOUTHWARD FROM HUÉ AFTER GOVERNMENT WARNS OF COMMUNIST TROOP BUILDUP

THE NATION

FOREIGN POLICY

South Viet Nam: The Final Reckoning

Hue ... Khe Sanh .. An Loc ... Quang Tri ... The names stir bitter memories of battle sites drenched in blood, the blood of thousands of Vietnamee and Americans who fought so create the content of the

Saigon had decided abruptly to abandon much of its territory to the Communist forces, sending long lines of forlorn refugees stumbling southward from northern provinces and the Cenral Highlands. They were joined by demoralized ARWN soldiers, whose rushed retreat was aimed strategically, and perhaps wisely, at reinforcing the defenses of Saigon and the Mekong Delta.

Beyond Control. The events, understandably, spread gloom to a big Boeing 707 jet flying over the deserts of Sauld Arabia one day last week, U.S. reporters on board heard one of the blacktion of the beautiful and the second of the state of the second of the course, failed to disguise the obvious source: Secretary of State Henry Kissing, Ferral Post of the second of the s affairs induced by their Viet Nam and Watergate experiences. Kissinger warned that the Russians and Chinese might conclude that the U.S. no longer has the will to act and might apply new pressures against American interests wherever they could.

Kissinger linked the uncertainty over U.S. aid to Cambodia and South Viet Nam with other current U.S. diplomatic serbacks, including his difficulties in arranging an Israeli pullback in the Sinat. At week's end, with the Arab-Israeli talks deadlocked, Kissinger gave up and flew home to Washington, leaving the future for peace in the Middle

East in disarray (see THE WORLD)

While negotiating in Jerusalem, Aswan and Damascus, Kissinger had kept a worried eye on the rapidly deteriorating situation in Viet Nam. Bitterly, he blamed Congress for failing to continue a high level of military aid to the Saigon government. If he had had any inkling at all that U.S. aid would be cut back, he insisted, "I could not in good conscience have negotiated" the Paris Accords of 1973. "If we had put forward a reasonable effort and then they collapsed." he said of the South Vietnamese forces, "that's one situation. But if their collapse is traceable to our cutting back the aid year after year, that's another thing.

In fact, however, the Paris agreement made no specific commitment to continued US. military aid, although it did permit each side to replace its then existing military equipment. This could be construed as an implied US. obligation to resupply the ARVN, although the agreement was also based on the premise that the fighting was to sputter out and stop. Kissinger was on shaky ground, too, in assuming that the US. Congress would remain committed to indefinite continuance of military aid whatever the sense of the nation at the time. The accords did not require and did not receive ratification by Congress.

Similar thoughts were expressed last week by President Ford. To support economic aid, Ford revived the much-belabored "domino theory" of falling nations. "If we have one country after another-allies of the United States -losing faith in our word, losing faith in our agreements with them, yes, I think the first one to go could vitally affect the national security of the United he insisted. He also warned States " against a "new isolationism" among Americans, "We are counseled to withdraw from the world and go it alone, he said. "I have heard that song before. I am not going to dance to it. Doom Prophecies. There were oth-

revents to support the alarms of the support the alarms of the revents the support the support the support to support the support the support to support the support the support to support the support to support the support to support the support to support the support to support the support to support the support the support to support the support t

The view that all such events are

THE NATION

linked has long been held by Kissinger. Yet the idea seems both faulty and dangerous when applied so obsessively to such peripheral situations as South Viet Nam and Cambodia. As U.S. policymakers argue for last-ditch aid to Cambodia, for instance, warning of worldwide repercussions if the demands are denied, they run the risk of creating selffulfilling prophecies of doom. Certainly Americans are disillusioned with their Viet Nam experience, and rightly so. They are less ready to support U.S. military aid or intervention elsewhere. But that does not mean that even the collanse of South Viet Nam would turn Americans so sour on foreign affairs that they would desert their commitments in more vital areas: Europe, the Middle East, Japan and some other parts of Asia. There will be no such desertion, unless the Ford-Kissinger rhetoric convinces the public that each global trouble spot is equally significant, or equal-

ly insignificant, to the U.S. Tragic Effort. The hard fact is that the government of Cambodia's Lon Nol is tenuous at best and probably ultimately untenable. South Viet Nam has far stronger moral claims on U.S. support, and, until this week at least, seemed to have far greater strength to resist. But in Viet Nam too, U.S. military aid cannot go on indefinitely. President Ford's suggestion of three more years and \$5.5 billion is undoubtedly too much for Congress. On the other hand, the proposal to cut off military aid by June 30 would end the help too abruptly. Dates and amounts are arguable.

Is the rest of the world really losing confidence in America because of events in Indochina? The evidence so far suggests otherwise, Most of the world some time ago absorbed the long-overdue U.S. decision to cut its losses in Southeast Asia, after an enormous and trage effort. Many of America's friends indeed were relieved, and still are, hoping that contact on other areas and problems. Confidence in America Unimately expends not on the afternation of which are also and trage efforts of the contact on other areas and problems. Confidence in America Unimately bends not on the afternation of Vist Nambut on how firmly and wisely the U.S. acts elsewhere.

ESPIONAGE

The Great Submarine Snatch

It all began with an accident. Some time in 1968, somewhere in the northwest Pacific, the Soviet submarine surfaced to recharge its batteries. There was an explosion, perhaps caused by a spark that ignited trapped gases in the hull. Before a single member of the crew could escape, the craft plummeted to the ocean floor about three miles below. But not to an unknown grave. U.S. Navy devices picked up the stricken submarine's last throes and were able to place the wreckage within a ten-mile-square area. The Soviet navy was not so fortunate. A Soviet task force searched for traces of its missing vessel far from the actual site. When the Soviets finally gave up looking. U.S. authorities realized that only they knew the lost submarine's resting place-and Project Jennifer was born.

Part I: The Salvage Operation

Project Jennifer, whose existence was disclosed last week, grew into an enterprise that eventually cost \$350 million, employed more than 4,000 people, and brought into partnership America's most secret institution, the CIA, and its most secret citizen, Howard Hughes. It also, in its way, pushed the limits of engineering and technology almost as far as Project Apollo, which took man to the moon, and may well have been the largest and most expensive espionage effort in the long history of man's spying on man. The aim was simple: to raise the submarine from its grave without the Soviets' knowledge, in order to learn some of the secrets of their nuclear weaponry, targeting and codes. The submarine was believed to be armed with three nuclear missiles and perhaps some nuclear-tipped torpedoes; like all Soviet warships, it had an array of sophisticated coding and decoding devices for secret communication

The first step was to locate the submarine precisely. The Navy dispatched to the waters north of Hawaii its ultra-

secret research ship Mizar a floating electronics laboratory. Like a fishing boat seeking to sanger a nextle fish. Mizar put overboard an array of devices sonar, electronic scanners, cameras and a magnetic sensor that reacts to the presence of metal on the seabed. For womoths Mizar patiently toward to the same of the presence of metal on the seabed site paraphernalia across every inch of the en-mile-square area until it had detected, scanned and thoroughly photometric processing the season of the seas

sub to the surface. Since the operation would have to be paid for and carried out in deepest secrecy, the Navy turned to the C1A for help. One of the agency's deputy directors presented the proposal to Richard Helms, then C1A director. "He damn near threw me out the window," says the man, recalling Helms initial reaction. "You must be crazy," he told me."

Later, Helms began to see the beauty of the plan. Soon his other top aides, who knew nothing about the proposal, became curious about the brisk parade of Pentagon officials and high-ranking Navy officers that passed through Helms' office.

Once the green light was received from the White House, the CIA knew exactly whom they wanted to use as the cover for the submarine salvage: Howard Hughes, the eccentric billionaire who personally commands a business empire of airlines, hotels and electronics companies. Explains a CIA official: "The Hughes organization had the technical know-how for a project of that difficulty, and moreover Hughes has a passion for secrecy, which frankly was precisely what we had in mind." There were other advantages. The new president of Hughes Aircraft, A.D. Wheelon, was an agency alumnus, and the upper ranks of the company were studded with former ranking military and CIA officers. Hughes was known to be intrigued by

G-CLASS SOVIET SUBMARINE SIMILAR TO THE ONE THAT WAS LOST IN AN ACCIDENT IN PACIFIC OCEAN IN 1968



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the possibility of mining the sea for mineral deposits. That interest would make an ideal cover under which to conceal

the salvage operation.

was also pleased-so Hughes pleased that he took the project on for very little fee profit. For the design of the entire recovery system, Hughes revived his old relationship with Lockheed Co. The firm, which has in recent years acquired expertise in deep-sea rescue vessels, developed an innovative design. The main ship-a hefty 36,000-tonner that would be 618 ft. in length and 115.5 ft. in beam-would serve as a floating. highly stable platform. Amidships would stand a high derrick that would pass piping directly through a well, or "moon pool," in the ship's hull, which could be opened or closed with a sliding panel. The ship's companion was to be a huge submersible barge roughly the size of a football field, which would be covered by an oval roof. The barge's purposes would be to carry the huge retrieval claws that would grapple for the submarine and later transport it to the U.S. The roof was meant to conceal its cargo from prying Soviet satellites.

With those plans in hand, Hughes' men sought out builders. They engaged the respected Los Angeles-based firm of Global Marine Inc. to supervise the construction of the ship and chose the Sun Shipbuilding & Dry Dock Co. to construct the ship, which was to be christened the Glomar Explorer. The barge. designated the HMB-1, was constructed by the National Steel & Shipbuilding Co. in San Diego. While the ships were abuilding, the Hughes people, who normally are noncommittal, delighted in spreading stories about Hughes' deepsea-mining plans. Everyone, including TIME (July 29), accepted Hughes' account, and the press ran glowing stories about the ship's capabilities. "If all sails smoothly," went one typical newspaper account, "the mystery ship may be at work next year, scooping such metals as titanium, manganese, uranium, copper and nickel up out of the depths to add to the fortune of the world's wealthiest recluse

Shakedown Cruise. The Glomar Explorer's 170-man crew was selected and put on contract by the CIA. The 40 men on the mining staff obviously knew the ship's secret mission: the others probably did not. All refused to talk to outsiders about the ship, except to say that it had a gymnasium and the food was good. On Nov. 4, 1972, the Glomar Explorer was launched and left shortly thereafter on its shakedown cruise. According to one account, it tested its detection equipment and some of its recovery systems at the site of the 1968 accidental explosion of the U.S. nuclearpowered submarine Scorpion, which went down near the Azores in about 10,000 ft of water

Then Glomar Explorer, her beam too wide for the Panama Canal, sailed round the Horn and made for Los Angeles,



GLOMAR EXPLORER WITH DERRICK AMIDSHIPS USED TO RAISE THE SOVIET SUBMARINE

where she rendezvoused with her companion, MHM-1. Fittingly, Clonar Explorer docked at Long Beach's Pier Explorer docked at Long Beach's Pier Singheit Fill and the Hughes' giantic plywood Phying boat, known irreverently as "the Spruce Goose." Though Howard Hughes last month finally agreed to dispose of the Goose, giving parts of it to the Smithsoria, it remains at present in the hamtice of the present of the control of the control of the determination.

Delicate Operation. Sightseers were barred from approaching either the ship or the barge. When local fire of-ficials insisted upon inspecting IMM-1, they found its interior completely shrouded by larpaulins. Surveillance TV cameras follow anyone who appeads the three produces the barge, and guarded with bug ported a tug pilot who once towed the barge.

Towing the ungainly barge in her wake, the Glomar Explorer headed for the open sea on June 20, 1974, ready at last to attempt the culmination of Project Jennifer. By about mid-July the odd convoy reached the site of the sunken Soviet sub. The delicate salvage operation got under way. Despite the chop of waves and force of the current, it was necessary for the Glomar Explorer to maintain an almost impossible stationary position, straying no more than 50 ft. in any direction. To do that, the ship dropped a series of bottom-placed transducers, which detected the force and direction of the water's flow and transmitted that information to a shipboard computer. The computer, in turn, kept the ship in one place by activating a series of water jets and small propellers placed at intervals along the ship's hull. Next the barge opened its sea cocks until it had taken on enough water to sink



HOWARD HUGHES (1947)

to a depth of 150 ft. It was maneuvered directly beneath the Glomar Explorer's moon pool and held in place by stanchions from the mother ship. Pipe from the ship reached down to the barge and attached itself to the giant grappling claws, which resembled a series of four or six interconnected ice tongs hanging from a long platform. Then the ship's crew began to feed length after length of pipe through the hole. By the time the claw reached the Soviet submarine 16,000 ft. below, the pipe alone weighed more than 400,000 lbs. Television cameras equipped with strobe lights enabled the claw operators to see what they were doing (see diagram page 25).

One by one, the giant grapnels, which were attached by cables to the Glomar Explorer, seized sections of the stricken submarine in their steel jaws. Slowly the winches aboard the Glomar

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THE NATION

Explorer began to lift the submarine from its graw, tugging hard to unstick the hull from the seabed. It was a nerveracking process. The submarine's dead weight of at least 4,000 tons taxed even weight of at least 4,000 tons taxed even which the protection of the submarine from the from the

At some point in the lift-one estimate places it at about halfway up the 16,000 ft .- the cables rattled. Though the cause remains a secret, the consequence was soon evident. The sub's hull, already weakened and damaged by the explosion and severe water pressures. cracked into two pieces. According to the CIA's account, the aft two-thirds, including the conning tower and the coveted missiles and code room, slipped back to the seabed. The forward third which remained gripped firmly in the grappels, was deposited in the still submerged barge. Blowing its water ballast, HMB-1 rose to the surface. Even if only partially successful, as the CIA claims the mission was a major technological achievement. Nothing so large had ever before been raised from so great a depth.

Aware that the salvage operation would also raise the bodies of the dead Russian officers and men, the CIA had made what it felt was the proper arrangements. The Glomar Explorer was equipped with special cooling facilities that could accommodate up to 100 corpses. In the forward section of the submarine were a number of bodies. While a loudspeaker played a recording of the Soviet national anthem, a funeral service was read in Russian and English. As a CIA cameraman filmed the proceedings in color and sound, the bodies were buried at sea from the Glomar Explorer, each neatly shrouded in

Part II: Aims of the Mission

Was the Project Jennifer trip necessary? Would it have been worth its high price tag if the entire submarine had been recovered? Some congressional critics of the CtA last week said no; Senator Frank Church suggested that the agency had wasted money on the project, saying. "No wonder we are broke." By contrast, a top CtA official insists that had the project succeeded, it would have been "the biggest single intelligence coup in history."

Such a claim rests on the incredibly complex and ever-changing nature of military technology. To U.S. analysts, the sunken submarine contained a potential treasure-trove of invaluable and historic unattainable information. No outsider can imagine the degree to which the U.S. and the Soviet Union are locked in intense competition to gain and edge, no matter how slight, over each and one of the control of the



Wary about the prying eyes of Soviet satellites.

can about the other's weaponry, countermeasures, and research.

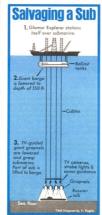
 to run their hands over a Soviet nuclear warhead, or look inside. Nor, presumably, have U.S. cryptographers ever had the chance to examine the construction of a Soviet cipher machine or to read Soviet code books.

The sunken submarine offered those opportunities. The diesel-driven ship of the G or Golf class (vintage 1958-62) had long since been made obsolescent by the Soviet nuclear-powered submarines of the Yankee and Delta classes. Nonetheless, in the superstructure behind its tall conning tower, the submarine typically carried three nucleartipped missiles of the Serb class, which has a 650-mile range and a 500 kiloton warhead. At the time the SALT I negotiations were about to start, and an examination of the Serb warheads would have given U.S. experts an invaluable insight into the state of Soviet nuclear technology. They could have learned about the reliability, accuracy and method of triggering the nuclear matter of Soviet missiles. They could have compared their earlier evaluations based on satellite data against the real thing. Hence U.S. negotiators could have entered the SALT talks with the advantage of having a clearer understanding of Soviet nuclear strength.

Defense System. In 1968 the U.S. was building a widespread nati-missile defense system intended to intercept and destryo Soviet ICMNs before they struck American cities. A study of the guidance system and flight characteristics of the Soviet warhead would have enabled U.S. scientists to program more effectively the computers directing the U.S.'s targeting radar.

There were other incentives. The Navy had never examined a Soviet torpedo; the G-class subs carried at least ten in bow and aft tubes. U.S. naval experts also had never subjected the steel used in Soviet sub hulls to metallurgical analysis. Test results could tell them how deep Soviet subs can dive, a vital bit of information in undersea warfare.

The U.S. intelligence community has its own special enthusiasms. Aboard



THE NATION

the sub were cipher machines and Soviet code manuls; provided they were stored in watertight safes, those manuals might still be legible. "It would be an absolutely unique, unprecedented opportunity to equiture an entire Soviet code room." said a ranking U.S. intelligence expert. "We have never before had access to the Soviets' top-secret retyptographic equipment or to any individual who had worked inside one of their code rooms."

In retrospect, many intelligence experts now play down the potential value of obtaining a code machine and possibly a legible code book. They point out that code machines. Western and Russian models alike, are constructed in a manner that enables the operator to reset circuits and insert new encoding or mining scheme implausible but that "we had to treat it seriously because we all knew that Howard Hughes does not involve himself in uneconomic undertakings." Some knowledgeable defense consideration of the control of

But the CIA had only two real security scares before the story finally broke. The first came in 1973, when a labor dispute erupted between engineers and the mining complement on board the Glomar Explorer. The engineers re-

endanger national security, the FBI tried to buy them back, but the deal fell through. Last week a grand jury in California returned a secret indictment in the theft. It reportedly cited only one defendant. Donald Woolbright, who is still at large. But in the process of investigating the theft, local police got into the act, and eventually the Los Angeles Times got a garbled version of Jennifer from a tipster. On Feb. 8 of this year the newspaper ran a story about a CIA-Hughes contract to raise a Soviet submarine supposedly sunk in the Atlantic. The CIA waited with bated breath to see if the rest of the press would pick it up or, worse, if the Soviets would Astonishingly, insists the CIA, the

erring accuracy, some people speculated

that either it was an inside job in which

Hughes had in effect robbed himself to

get rid of incriminating documents, or

the CIA did the favor for him. Then a

man claiming to represent the burglars

offered to return the documents in ex-

Alerted that the stolen papers could

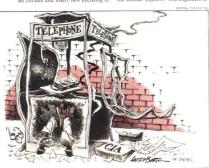
change for \$500,000.

Soviets did not, which presumably means that there are some very nervous KGB agents somewhere in the Western Hemisphere this week. But the press kept asking the CIA questions about Howard Hughes and submarines. Eventually, Director Colby moved to suppress the story, pleading national security. His rationale: since Moscow still had not got wind of Jennifer, Glomar Explorer this summer would return in good weather to attempt to raise the rest of the submarine, and secrecy was needed to protect the operation. All this posed a sharp dilemma for editors (see THE PRESS)

Quick Switch. What Colby offered was unusual: briefings on Jennifer in exchange for silence. He seemed to feel that only by being briefed on the stakes involved could the press be expected to join the conspiracy of silence.

A curious turnabout took place once the story did become public; the CIA had nothing more to say about Jennifer. The formula seemed simple if slightly surreal: "We'll tell you something if you won't tell anybody; now that you've told everybody, we won't tell you anything."

Reason for that wall of silence: by not publicly admitting the existence of Jennifer, the U.S. hopes to permit the Soviets to avoid any official response that could damage relations between the two nations. Soviet Party Leader Leonid Brezhnev is due to visit the U.S. this summer, and CIA officials remember all too well that Moscow used the U-2 spy-plane incident to ruin a summit in 1960. Last week, when the Jennifer saga broke, the acting Soviet ambassador in Washington sent a strong cable to Moscow advising the Kremlin to make a firm protest to Washington. But Moscow has remained silent, and the Soviet press has not mentioned the matter at all



"Your mission, should you decide to accept it, is to (click!) self-destruct in five seconds (click!) Your mission . . ."

decoding disks at random so that yesterday's code may give scant clue to today's. Even so, influential U.S. cryptologists at the time believed that an examination of the Russian equipment would increase the possibility that the U.S. might finally succeed in breaking Soviet codes, a feat that in 1968 had still defield the best efforts of the American intelligence community.

Part III: The Story Gets Out

Although so many thousands of people worked on Jennifer in a dozen Government departments and private companies, the project was a remarkably well-kept secret for more than six years. There were occasional suspicions. Famed Oceanologist Jacques Yves Cousteau, for example, said last week that he had always thought Hughes'

sened the fact that the mining technicans, rather than the captain, really ran the ship. That dispute moved quietly into the courts. The second scare came shortly before the Glomar Explorer put to sea to salvage the submarine. A rash of burglaries of Hughes company offices scattered across the West culminated in the early morning of June S. 1994, in a procession of the court of t

slipped past a formidable electronic lamn system and heavy locks and overwhelmed the guard. Using acetylene torches, the men burned their way into the safes and filing cabinets that contained some of Hughes' most sensitive documents, including one memo outlining his participation in Jennifer. Since the robbery was executed with such un-

Part IV: Puzzling Aftermath

A host of puzzles large and small clings to the Jennifer story. Example Why was Hughes so anxious to make the CIA connection that the Jennifer partnership represented? According to Robert Maheu, an ex-FBI agent and former manager of Hughes' operations in Nevada, the billionaire had tried for years to arrange a connection with the CIA. Explained Maheu: "He wanted it so that Uncle Sam could never take after him. If he got in a jam with the Internal Revenue Service or the Securities and Exchange Commission, they couldn't afford to touch him because of what he was doing with the CIA. But it was the agency, in fact, that made the initial approach to Hughes about Project Jennifer.

It was followed, however, by several other arrangements. TIME has learned. For example, the agency supplied information about Maheu in connection with his successful defamation suit against Hughes for calling him a thief. For their part, Hughes' employees kept the CIA informed about the activities of White House Plumber E. Howard Hunt. Among other things, they reported that he had interviewed ITT Lobbyist Dita Beard and planned to rifle the files of Las Vegas Publisher Hank Greenspun in search of information that might embarrass Democratic Presidential Candidate Edmund Muskie. At the time, ex-CIA Agent Hunt was also working for Robert R. Mullen & Co., a now defunct public relations firm in Washington that provided cover for CIA agents in Europe and the Far East. The firm was headed by Robert Bennett, who also worked for Hughes.

Then there is the puzzle of why so many reporters for major newspapers. magazines and TV networks simultaneously stumbled upon the Jennifer trail. On the morning after, some journalists got the feeling that the CIA had actually been helpful all along in getting the story out, while at the same time it apparently tried to suppress the story. There are several theories, including the reasonable possibility that the agency effort was just what it seemed to be. Another is that, battered by a lot of bad publicity of late, the agency felt that it was time for some good news. Jennifer was a clean, highly creative enterprise that had served its purpose

A third and by no means improbable theory has it that in fact Jennifer wholly succeeded: the entire submarine, missiles, codes and all, was raised intact and gleaned. But with the story because the make one final effort to deceive the Soviets on the extent of the coup by floating a version of only partial success. The last theory goes off into the wild blue younder, suggesting that raising a Soviet submarine was not Jennifer's mission at unission as yet safely secure.

Shivering from Overexposure

There are those who fear that continuing controversy, of which Project Jennifer is only the latest fuel, may irreparably damage the CIA. The dissension has contributed to an exodus of veteran employees, among them David Phillips, 52, former chief of CIA operations in Latin America, who resigned last week and advised CIA Director William Colby that he planned to organize an association of retired intelligence officers to defend the agency. But younger employees have also been affected In Washington, for example, some young analysts had joined the CIA only after assurances from recruiters that the cloak-and-dagger exploits of the cold war were a thing of the past. Now some of these idealistic employees are disillusioned. At the same time, CIA agents in Western Europe are worried that they can no longer count on headquarters to protect them. As a result, they are reluctant to mount any risky or out-of-theordinary operations and mutter darkly that the CIA debate only encourages the Soviet Union's KGB to step up efforts to penetrate Western defenses.

Colly's more pressing concern, hosever, is the controversy's effect the
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y intelligence organizations. He told
lot of them are in a state of sheek. They
cannot put into their own framework
this idea of going on television, going to
Capitol Hill, going into these scott
They ask, 'Are we going to get in the
that we have this secret relationship?'

Buttoned Up. Colby believes that he can allay such fears, if the members and staffers of the House and Senate investigating committees now being set up to look into the intelligence community exercise restraint in their requests for access to secrets and prevent what they receive from being leaked.

The committees share Colby's concern about leaks. House Committee Chairman Lucien Nedzi plans to hire a director who can keep his staff buttoned up, much as John Doar did for the House Judiciary Committee's inquiry into the impeachment of Richard Nixon. At the request of the Senate committee, the FBI and CIA installed electronic devices to secure the committee's workroom from bugging and illegal entry. Staffers will be required to go through FBI and CIA security checks, and have been told that they will be fired if they discuss their work with outsiders. Further, the staff members will be prohibited from removing any materials from the room. Colby told Talbott that in principle

he welcomed the investigations. He said:
"There has been much exaggeration and
misunderstanding. I both hope and sincerely believe that after reviewing the

whole matter, it will come out that these were minor problems rather than major issues," The director predicted that the hearings will result in closer congressional scrutiny of the CIA, though he added: "This confronts with a problem. How do you resolve the need for secrecy with the desire of a substantial number of Congressmen to have significant knowledge?"

In Secret. Colby argued against some suggested reforms of CIA operations. He opposed restricting the agency's clandestine activities to those first approved by a congressional watchdog committee because it would "interrupt the constitutional process of the Exec-



COLBY BEFORE A HOUSE SUBCOMMITTEE
"A state of shock."

utive executing and the Legislative legislating. If you put the Congressmen in the chain of operations, I think you have a very complicated problem of who is really responsible. "As for the proposal that Congress set specific guidelines for Cat activities," Colby said. "It wouldn't come very hard to set any that wouldn't come urged that the agency be required only to report on its activities after the fact to a congressional committee.

to a congressional committee.

Congress may not be in the mood to accept this, and no doubt stronger spervision is needed to guard against illegal CLA activities. But in the real work in which other nations engage in espionage and "dirty tricks," the U.S. considerable and the control of the

CONGRESS

Toward the Biggest Tax Cut

Moving in fits and starts, and fending off more than 100 often spurious amendments, the Senate last week approved the largest tax cut in U.S. history. Coupled with a historic repeal of the 49-year-old oil-depletion allowance for all but the smallest independent oil producers, the \$33 billion tax-relief bill must now be compromised with a similar, although smaller \$21.3 billion cut approved by the House. Under heavy pressure from the White House to act speedily to spur the nation's depressed economy, congressional leaders hope to present President Ford with a final tax package this week-ten weeks after he presented his own proposals for a more modest \$16 billion tax rebate.

Political Credit. Unless there is an unforescen last-minute hitch, rebate checks on 1974 taxes should begin flowing to taxpayers in May. The extra cash for most Americans is expected to give the economy a substantial boost. Republican President Ford will be able to take political credit for pushing the Congress into relatively prompt action and the Democratic leaders to claim that they delivered a more effective tax stimulus than the President had recovering the confidence of the confidence of

Much of the Senate's final maneuvering on the tax bill was chaotic, as var-



MAJORITY LEADER MIKE MANSFIELD



ious Senators sought to push their own particular ideas on who in U.S. society needs the most tax relief. The first big fight was over the 22% oil-depletion allowance, which permits the nation's oil companies to avoid some 25.5 billion in tax obligations. The allowance has been an emotionally charged symbol of tax loopholes that has often blocked serious tax reform.

The Senate Finance Committee, chaired by Louisiana Democrat Russell Long, a veteran champion of the oil-depletion allowance, had produced a bill with no depletion repeal in it. Leading a successful floor fight to knock out the allowance for all but the smallest independent oil producers were Ernest ("Fritz") Hollings, a South Carolina Democrat with vice-presidential ambitions, and Massachusetts' Edward Kennedy. They were sharply opposed by Texas Democrat Lloyd Bentsen, an announced presidential candidate and friend of the oil producers. Certain that depletion was politically unsupportable in the face of soaring oil-company profits and that its repeal would eventually pass in some form. Long abandoned any prolonged fight to preserve this tax loophole. The Senate then cast preliminary votes to take away the protection from all but the "mom-and-pop companies" (those pro-

ducing 2,000 bbl. per day or less). With the depletion issue essentially settled, Senators rushed to amend the Finance Committee's bill. As the amendments piled up, Majority Leader Mick Mansfield moved adrotity be to be the Senate from snarling itself in endless debate over tangential items. He moved successfully to substitute his own perkage of lax cuts, which was relatively a successfully to substitute his own and the substitute his own and though there were other amendments, the bill that emerged included the following tax benefits

▶ A one-shot rebate on 1974 taxes totaling \$10 billion. The rebates will range for most families from a minimum of \$120 to a maximum of \$240, decreasing as a tax payer's income increases.

of \$120 to a maximum of \$240, decreasing as a taxpayer's income increases. The House-approved rebate is slightly smaller, ranging between \$100 and \$200 for a total cut of \$8.1 billion.

▶ A choice of accepting the current \$750 tax exemption for each dependent or taking a new credit of \$200 per dependent on the final tax bill. The credit would mainly help taxpayers with incomes below about \$18,500. The House sought to attain similar results by increasing the low-income allowance.

▶ A flat \$100 payment to every person who receives a Social Security or railroad-retirement check. Some welfare recipients would also benefit. This is not in the House bill.

▶ A tax credit of up to \$600 a year

to cover the cost of baby sitters when this is necessary for a working parent to hold a job.

▶ A small across-the-board cut in the individual income tax rates of everyone on the first \$4,000 of taxable income for 1975 and 1976. This will amount to \$40 each year for most taxpayers. The House did not include a similar provision.

▶ A tax credit of 5% of the price of any newly constructed home purchased between March 13 and Dec. 31, 1975, up to a maximum credit of \$2,000. The House did not include this.

► An "earned-income credit" designed to compensate for Social Security tax costs of low-income families. It affects only families with a gross income under \$8,000.

► A 57.5 billion tax cut for businesses, mainly by increasing the investment tax credit. The Senate approved a 12% credit over two years, the House a 10% credit for one year. Both chambers agreed to lower corporate tax rates, the Senate by taxing the first \$50,000 of income at 18% (instead of at the present 22% of the first \$25,000 and income above that at the current 48%. The House extended the 22% rate all the way to the first \$50,000 of income.

Tougher Task. Tax cuts are only one means to pump more money into the economy, and even as the Senate far exceeded the Administration's proposed tax-cutting incentives, other committees in Congress were proposing various spending measures that would serve the same purpose. But as the new House and Senate budget committees begin their first deliberations under the budget-reform law passed last year, they will grapple with some startling statistics. Charged with recommending limits on congressional appropriations, they could only guess at the combined budgetary impact of various proposed new programs and the tax cut. The best estimate of the House Budget Committee was that spending plans were running nearly \$30 billion above Ford's proposals. With the Senate urging a \$33 billion tax cut, the budget deficits for 1975 and 1976 were certain to exceed even the Administration's dire predictions.

The dismayed Budget Committee members discovered that unless the spending impulses of various committees are effectively curtailed, the 1976 budget deficit, estimated at \$55.5 billion by the President, would balloon to about \$93 billion. But the House Budget Committee is determined to keep that from happening. Tentatively, it decided last week to slash the Administration's \$94 billion proposed spending for national defense by a substantial \$4.8 billion. Its tougher task will come, however, when it turns to resisting the proposals of its colleagues in the Congress. If these new budget committees fail in their oversight task, warns one budget official, the spending totals will be "high enough to scare anyone in their right mind.



SON JOHN, JACKIE, DAUGHTER CAROLINE & SENATOR KENNEDY ON SKORPIÓS FOR ARI'S FUNERAL

PERSONALITY

What Now for Jackie Onassis?

In the Greek fishing hamlet of Nidri. the villagers waited in a light rain. Soon the mourners would arrive to ferry across to Aristotle Onassis' private Ionian island of Skorpiós and witness the simple rites he had requested and bury him under a cypress tree near his only son Alexander. At last the motor cortege pulled up, and when the American woman in a black leather coat appeared. a murmur ran through the watchers. "A widow for the second time." whispered one old woman in a black shawl. A Mona Lisa smile crept briefly across Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis' face, or perhaps it was simply an involuntary grimace at a world forever watching. Behind the dark sunglasses, her look was

The look might be read as a mirror of Jackie's future. Beautiful and youthful at 45, she has already survived two of the world's most vital men. She is among the few people anywhere whose every action, every intention are the object of immense fascination.

Byzantine Operations. The most immediate question is how Onassis enormous wealth, perhaps as little as \$500 million, perhaps as great as \$1 billion, is to be allocated among his heirs. His wast holdings included a bank, more than \$50 tankers, Olympic Airways, which the Greek government has agreed in principle to buy, and a half-share of Manhattans on yet-ecompleted Olympic Airways, perhaps the properties of the properties

By far the lion's share of these diverse interests will go to his surviving child, Daughter Christina Onassis, 24; a cadre of other relatives and associates will assist her in managing her father's byzantine business operations. After Alexander's death in a plane crash at age 24 two years ago, Onassis had been deeply concerned about who would mind his stores; he had urged Christina to marry Shipping Heir Peter Goulandris, 30, and reportedly the pair pledged at his deathbed to wed later this year.

Accounts of just how much money Jackie would get ranged wildly, from a high of \$200 million or more (if a traditional Greek law entitling widows to 25% of an estate is found to apply) to a low of \$2 million. The issue is complicated by the likelihood that the canny Onassis set up a maze of tax-resistant trusts. The best guess seems to be that Jackie will end up with about \$100 million, and her children, John and Caroline Kennedy, with \$15 million each. She is also expected to get the prime pickings of Ari's \$20 million art collection, part of which already adorns her 15-room apartment on Manhattan's Fifth Avenue. While Onassis' lawyers unravel the knots of his empire and will. they are continuing to pay Jackie's \$600,000-a-year allowance. Whatever the outcome, Jackie will be better heeled in her own right than ever before: she received no more than \$80,000 from the estate of her erratic father, "Black Jack" Bouvier, and was left perhaps \$5 million by President Kennedy.

Onassis, say associates in Athens, promised Jackie both his villa on the French Riviera and a hacienda in Mexico, But Christina will surely take over the family's regal penthouse on Avenue Foch in Paris and the 500-acre Skorpiós; the day after the funeral, she took command of the 325-ft, yacht that bears her name by informing the captain and crew that their jobs were all secure.

Relations between the two women are cordial but by no means warm. While Ari was hospitalized. Jackie stayed at the Paris penthouse, but Christian optied for a hotel. Onassis' three sisters were incensed that Jackie was in New York when her husband died; she had been assured by dectors, friends say pone home to catch a TV program that Caroline had worked not Art the funeral. Christian and Jackie took separate launches to Skorpiós and walked apart to the chapel. Later, with Christian of to Switerfand. Jackie flow to Fartis, no longer, it seemed, a member of the Onastone of the Christian of the Switerfand. Jackie flow to Fartis, no longer, it seemed, a member of the Onastone of the Christian of

More Vulnerable. And what of the other clan, the Kennedys? Jackie's engagement to Onassis was at first greed with conspicuous silence by the late President's family. Though John and Carolinea are fill members of the tribe of Kennedy cousins, the aunts and uncess, according to a family friend, "never know when they talk to Jackie whether it will be a week or a year before they hear from her again." Senator Edward to lend the widow some support, but it sunlikely that his gesture signals Jackie's return to the fold.

Neither Greece nor Hyannis Port will be Jackie's stomping grounds now. Said her sister Lee Radziwill in Manhattan last week: "I expect she'll come back here and carry on life as it was. After all, her children are settled here. she has her life here." Some friends think that she may pursue her interest in landmarks preservation; Critic Brendan Gill of The New Yorker, for which Jackie has already written one small article, feels that she has promise as a writer. Yet richer than before, eligible once again, she is sure to be hounded and watched and speculated upon anew. And also more vulnerable: for the first time in 15 years she will be without the personal protection that the U.S. Secret Service and later Onassis' bodyguards automatically provided.

VIET NAM/COVER STORY

THIEU'S RISKY RETREAT

"Pleiku fini. Kontum fini. Ban Me Thuot fini. Hué fini. Everything fini." —Immigration official at Tan Son Nhut airport

Suddenly, unexpectedly, the endless war in South Viet Nam took a dramatic new turn last week. Abandoning a 20year government policy of fighting for every inch of South Vietnamese territory, President Nguyen Van Thieu surrendered fully one-fourth of his country -seven provinces with an estimated population of more than 1.7 million people-to the attacking Communists. Dusty district roads and coastal highways were choked with countless thousands of frightened civilians clutching their possessions and fleeing their homes in the largest exodus since Viet Nam was divided in 1954. Meanwhile, reinforced North Vietnamese and Viet Cong forces mobilized what appeared to be their most devastating offensive since the Easter attacks of 1972.

Thics's decision to give up the apparently indefensible provinces caught almost everyone, including US, intelligence officials, by surprise. So too did munist military moves. Two weeks ago, Secretary of Defense James Schleene was still insisting that there would be no major Communist offensive until 1976, when it would neatly coincide with the US, presidential elections. Perhaps was on home leave in North Carolinar covering from dental surgery—and official properties.

probably also to show independence of Washington out of pique for not getting more military aid—Thieu did not consult with U.S. officials in either Saigon or Washington in advance of his momentous and daring decision to abandon the provinces. But then again, many of his own military commanders got their first hints of it by reading the Vietnamese newspapers.

Kontum, Pleiku and Darlac provinces in the Central Highlands-a rolling area of rain forest and coffee and tea plantations on the border of Laos and Cambodia-were the first to go (see map). Later, Quang Tri province in northernmost Military Region I was given up. Although not officially abandoned by Saigon, Thua Thien, containing the ancient imperial capital of Hué, was by week's end clearly in imminent danger of falling into North Vietnamese hands. In the South, only 50 miles north of Saigon and next to already fallen Phuoc Long, Binh Long province was relinguished. In addition, several other provinces were seriously threatened by Communist forces; at week's end one of them. Quang Duc on the southern edge

of the Central Highlands, fell.
Thieu's decision to give up the provinces was a gritty gamble that he could
improve his country's defensive posture
by what he clearly hoped would be a
last retreat. Yet to many Americans who
fought in Viet Nam, the surrender
brought anguished remembrances (see

box page 38).

The surrender of the provinces was

unutterable tragedy for the true victims of the war, the South Vietnamese people. Helped by retreating ARVN soldiers, upwards of half a million refugees trekked by military convoy, on motorcycle, buffalo cart, bicycle or foot toward areas still held by the government. Some 200,000 people fled Quang Tri and Hué for Danang (see box page 34). Hundreds of thousands from the Central Highlands streamed eastward toward the coast. In Military Region II, just south of fallen Darlac, the resort town of Dalat was rapidly being emptied, even though there seemed to be no imminent danger of Communist attack. Air Viet Nam was flying five flights a day to Saigon, up from the usual one, and tickets on the black market were going for as much as \$300 (normal price: \$9.50)

Most of the refugees and even a large majority of the withdrawing troops were not bothered by Communist forces. In Quang Tri province, Communist tanks even lit the way at night for both soldiers and civilians. The evacuation of some areas went so smoothly that there were rumors of a deal between the Communists and the Saigon government. Thieu, it was said, had given up the territory in exchange for the safety of the population-a story emphatically denied by Saigon. In any case, there were some reports of Communist efforts to harass the flow of refugees. One 1,200truck convoy of defeated troops and fleeing civilians crawling southeast from Pleiku toward the coast was attacked



WOMAN HOLDING CHILD WEEPS AFTER FLEEING HOME

REFUGEES FROM HUÉ MOVING SOUTH TOWARD DANANG





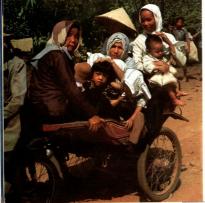














by rebel Montagnard groups. Total casualties: 200.

The refugees fled for a variety of reasons. Some may have feared that government bombing attacks would follow Communist absorption of their lands: indeed, in the months just after the Paris Peace Agreement, Saigon subjected Viet Cong-held areas to frequent air raids. Others, especially merchants or landowners, may have feared that the Communists would confiscate their property or worse, arrest them as "exploiters of the people." Residents of Hué in particular have not forgotten the mass executions that took place when the Communists controlled the city during the 1968 Tet offensive. Most of the refugees simply seemed to be afraid of the Communists-and in some areas of the Central Highlands, of Montagnard rebels.

In Saigon, the nightly curfew was advanced by two hours to 10 p.m.; even the most brazen street boys, prostitutes and soup vendors were prudently getting off the streets an hour before deadline The capital was in no immediate danger Yet as scare stories of Communist advances reached the city, many people began talking of leaving the country altogether. "Where do we go now?" asked Nguyen Thi Luong, an office worker who fled Hanoi in 1954. "Twenty years ago we came south. Now we're at the bottom and can't go any farther

part from the stray attacks on the refugees, there was little fighting in the regions evacuated by Saigon last week. Thieu's decision to retreat stemmed from his revised estimates of the North Vietnamese buildup in the country. The Pentagon believes that there are now 16 North Vietnamese divisions in South Viet Nam. Apparently the President also decided that ARVN's strategic position in the northern and Highlands provinces had eroded beyond repair after the successful Communist attack on Ban Me Thuot two weeks ago. For three days the South Vietnamese forces tried hard to repel a cleverly executed Communist tank and infantry assault on the city, which sits astride Route 14, the main inland north-south road. South Vietnamese air force F-5s and A-37s bombed and strafed Communist positions around the city, while ARVN forces were hurriedly ferried to the outskirts of Ban Me Thuot for what looked initially like a full-scale counterattack

It never came about. The North Vietnamese assault on Ban Me Thuot had caught ARVN defense forces stretched out thinly along a line from Kontum through Pleiku all the way south to Ban Me Thuot along Route 14 In a desperation move, President Thieu ordered the last two regiments of Pleiku's 23rd Division to the defense of Ban Me Thuot. But the North Vietnamese 320th Reserve Division, which was never actually committed to the fighting. set up an impregnable half circle on the western side of the city, forcing the ARVN regiments to take up positions for a counterattack twelve miles east of the city. In three days of fighting, the Communist troops, mostly elements of the 25th Autonomous Regiment, virtually destroyed the 1.200-man ARVN force: its remnants ended up as stragglers in the endless refugee stream pouring down Route 7 toward the sea.

The decimation of the 23rd Division robbed Pleiku of its defenses. At the same time, the Saigon government realized that it was badly outgunned in Kontum as well There are now four North Vietnamese divisions in the Central Highlands. Thieu met secretly in the coastal city of Nha Trang on March 14 with Lieut. General Pham Van Phu, commander of Military Region II. The President decided to take the most drastic of steps-strategic retreat. The four ranger groups defending Kontum were shifted southeast to the coastal province of Phu Yen. to be followed a few days later by

General Phu also began moving the Military Region II headquarters from Pleiku farther south to Nha Trang. In Kontum, 68 aircraft, grounded because of a lack of spare parts, were destroyed to keep them from falling into enemy hands. As the ARVN forces moved southward, the South Vietnamese air force flew in and hombed every bridge after the ground troops crossed it. It was a last retreat. No one is planning to go back for a long time.

Central Highlands. Thieu made another crucial decision in his historic rearrangement of the Vietnamese political map. He flew to Danang for consultations with ARVN's best field commander, Lieut, General Ngo Quang Truong, and decided to carry out plans that apparently had been drawn up months ago: to pull back the main line of defense from Quang Tri and probably Thua Thien provinces down to the coastal city of Danang, General Truong had already lost the backbone of his defense the week before when Thieu or-



THE WORLD

dered 4000 men of South Vict Nam's crack airborne division back to their original base headquarters near Saigon's Tan Son Nhu airport. Thies del fit in ecessary to beef up the defense of the capatil, just in case the Communist dedict de to concentrate their forces on Saigon is shock wave through the streets of Hue. Without a government order to do so, the mayor advised his people "to leave as quickly as possible".

Saigon's strategy was clear: to cut off the exposed limbs of the Central Highlands and the northernmost provinces in order to save the body of South Viet Nam. From now on, as one Pentagon analyst put it, "a truncated map of South Viet Nam" will have to be drawn. It will include most of Military Regions III and IV—the eleven provinces around Saigon and the 15 provinces of the Mekong Delta region farther south—along with various pockets of control dotting the coats as far north as the expected new line of defense at Dananae.

The new map roughly resembles one proposed by retired Army Lieut. General James Gavin, who in 1966 proposed that American forces draw back to such easily defended enclaves along the South Vietnamese coast as Nha Trang, Cam Ranh, Qui Nhon and Danang itself. These populous cities have contain vial facilities such as harbors and airstrips that offer the best opportunity for successful defense. Although most American millitary experts rejected the enclave strategy when Gavin first proposed it, may of them are strategy of presure.

Gavin himself, now chairman of Ar-

The Refugees: 'We Were Scared'

Countless thousands of the half million or more people who fled their homes in the abandoned provinces for government-held territory made their way to the coastal city of Danang. TIME's Saigon Bureau Chief Peter Range flew there last week and filed this report.

A beautiful, clear half moon eerilyilluminated the long, solenn march south, down Route 1 between the South China Sea and the stark, lovely silhouettes of the Annamite chain to the west. Trucks piled high with baskes, furniture and clothes were packed with 30 and 60 people in the rear. An army and 60 people in the rear. An army ing, three dozen faces peering from the back and five more Vietnamese sitting on the hood. Three old Citroëns, looking like something out of an old French police thriller, glided silently by with no fewer than 20 Vietnames inside. For the ride from Hue to Danang, these famlies had paid \$45, up from the normal farr of \$9. A three-wheel Lambretta taxi designed for eight small people passes, designed for eight small people passes, can deveryone abandomed the taxi in the middle of the crowded highway.

Up near the Hai Van pass, which divides Quang Nam from Thua Thien province, the highway was a string of bobbing headlights, a coiled serpent of dainty dots winding down from the ridge into the plain. The cool night air was heavy with dust and fumes from many engines. A return convoy of empty trucks. Lambrettas and Citroens going back to Hué for more refugees (and more business) was halted for an hour as the refugees descended through the pass. Drivers stretched out on straw mats on the asphalt, eating bowls of rice in the glare of their own headlights. Beside the road, some families who had walked the 45 kilometers from Phu Lap sat on straw mats around a single, thick red temple candle. A small kettle sat atop a tiny clump of burning sticks, boiling water for tea. But they had had no food all day and were still 25 kilometers away from sketchy and still unorganized relief efforts in Danang

Luong Dung, 19, who lost a leg in combat several years ago, had made the entire march on crutches, but he grinned while he smoked a cigarette. "We left because everybody else did," he said. "We don't know why, but we were scared."

At least 100 people have been reported killed in the crush at the precipitous Hai Van pass. A student and a popoliceman got into an argument and the student went over the edge, reported a New Zealand relief worker who interviewed refugees. One truck carrying at eleast 30 people was squeezed off the road and toppled over the precipice, which drops 1,000 ft. in some places.

At one point last Thursday, a reverse convoy of trucks commandeered bound traffic. Several hundred trucks were moving four abreast up the pass, blocking all southbound traffic. Dr. Richard Matern of the Save the Children Federation was trying to return to Hue to pick up his drug dispersor. Traffic was backed up two miles, so I got on a Honda and went up to the top. There were no soldiers or police organization of the properties of the p

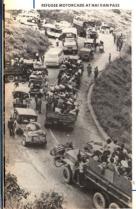
started moving and a couple of young

MPs came and took over."

Down on the Danang waterfront. 50-ft. fishing launches berthed smack in front of the American consulate, disgorging refugees. Five hundred arrived in ten boats, and many of them began unloading television sets in their original crates. Hondas, four or five bicycles per family, an occasional room fan. They had paid \$14 per family for the 19hour water-borne escape from Hué. The normally graceful quays along the river were a mass of humanity camped beneath the green tamarinds amid a bazaar of blankets, ponchos and suspended cheesecloth. "These are the rich ones. mumbled a relief worker when he saw two little girls wearing sweaters. By local standards, he was right.

Danang will get pressure from the north. "We're really worried about having enough rice for everybody," said Le Ba Dinh, who operates the Quang Tri Friendship Association in Danang and has taken in 350 refugees. "We're getting refugees out of the south too. from Quang Ngai and Quang Tin." It was an unreal sight. Danang res-

idents played unclear significants. The modalishe, while the homeless treatmed past, easting dancing shadows from the little trash fires that housewives light beside the road at night. "When they get here, they don't know what to do," said Ngo Van Chung, a relief worker surveying the confusion on the edge of town." They don't know where to sleep or what to eat."





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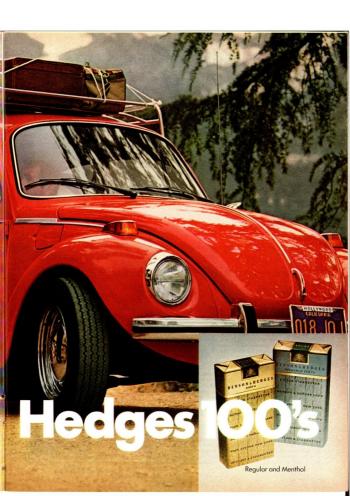
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2 Your Postal Service

thur D. Little Corp., a Cambridge think that, argues that Thiesi's plan of retreat actually bears little resemblance to his won original enclave theory, which was designed as a first tactical step toward extricating U.S. forces from Viet Nam. Gavin is pessimistic about the chances for success of the South Vietnames strategy. The difficulties of trying to keep central are Bottle sof trying to the penetration of Saigno by the North is so great that what I get is a very gloomy picture of Saigon's ability to save itself."

Still, the arguments for abandoning the provinces make some military sense. All the surrendered provinces were heavily infested with Communist forces. In the Central Highlands, only the provincial capitals remained firmly in government and provincial capitals remained firmly in government hands. Thus the control of the provincial capitals are made in the control of the provincial capitals and the provincial capitals an

were strung out across the country, firing away at dubious targets from thin lines—with few reinforcements available to mount consistent offensives.

Moreover, the sparsely settled Highland provinces are the homeland of an estimated 500.000 Montagnard tribesmen, who, as despised fourth-class citizens in South Viet Nam, were ripe for exploitation by the Communists. During the years of American involvement in the fighting, the Montagnards were carefully cultivated by the U.S. Green

Thieu: Between Himself and His God

All week long, Saigon was buzzing with rumors about President Nguyen Van Thieu. One air force officer, after swearing his family to secrecy, told them that the President was under house arrest. Some said that the President was preparing to flee the country. Others heard that he was ready to resign.

heard that he was ready; of resignature of A Saigon and the same and the same and the same about the clusive and entire same about the elusive and enigmatic South Victnamese President. "As the West has left Theu," the editor said. "Theu has the Hard with the same and the same a

The current crisis has hit South Viet Nam during the President's tenth year in power. The son of a small landowner. Thieu, now 52, became a career soldier who fought for the French against the Communists in 1947-54 and played an important role in the overthrow of President Ngo Dinh Diem in 1963. Born a Buddhist, he converted to Roman Catholicism at the time of his marriage to Mai Anh, a doctor's daughter, in 1951. Because he was regarded as a moderate who could ease the differences between militant Catholic and Buddhist factions. Thieu in June 1965 was chosen by his fellow officers to head South Viet Nam's tenth government within 19 months. But he won a reputation as a tough military man who could unite his countrymen in the war against the Communists. In 1967 he was elected President after South Viet Nam's first Western-style political campaign; and four years later, amid charges of harassment of other parties, he was re-elected unopposed.

The intervening years have served to reate a perhaps inevitable barrier between Thieu and the people he leads. These days, he rarely uses the Presidential Palace on Cong Ly Boulevard, which is barricaded from the rest of Saigon by sentry boxes, steel barriers and tangles

of barbed wire. He moves behind a curtain of almost total secreey, constantly switching locations between a series of private addresses within and outside the city. Since the attack on Ban Me Thuot on March 10, he has not appeared in nublic or even been photographed.

Last week Thieu finally broke his long public silence, but he did so in a characteristically detached way. Just be-



PRESIDENT NGUYEN VAN THIEU

fore he was due to make a national television speech of encouragement to bit speople, he spoke to General Ngo Quang Truong, ARNN commander in the northermost Military Region I. Perhaps realizing the seriousness of the military situation for the first time, Thieu first canceled the speech but then gave it a day later.

In the address he urged his countrymen to maintain their "unfaltering anti-Communist determination." But he avoided any direct mention of his decision to abandon large portions of his country—or of the hundreds of thousands of newly created refugees who were already choking the nation's road-

ways. In previous times, Thieu has sometimes been criticized for postponing decisions. Last week's decision—surely one of the most agonizing of his career—was based on the new realities in both Saigon and Washington, and was made with surprising speed.

Despite the current troubles in South Viet Nam, Thieu's leadership does not appear to be in immediate jeopardy. His power base remains firmly rooted in the army, which, according to one Western diplomat. Thieu has successfully "neutralized" through his shrewd handling of promotions and assignments. Thieu is no longer obliged to listen to the views of the U.S. embassy as he once was. "The Americans have less control these days, says a senior diplomat in Saigon. "They are pretty much out of the business of advising." Nonetheless, many South Vietnamese assume that Thieu is still the Americans' favorite and that whatever U.S. aid the country receives in the future would be contingent upon his remaining in power.

Still another reason for Thieu's durability in office is that he has no political opponents who are taken seriously as individuals-although the opposition movement has many followers (TIME, Feb. 17). "They are a lot of little men squabbling," says one European observer in Saigon. "A so-called 'third force' in politics simply doesn't exist." This is partly true because of Thieu's knack of alternately ignoring and circumventing the National Assembly set up 71/2 years ago. He has managed to stalemate the Assembly for months over two important bills-one that would guarantee press freedom, another that would recognize political parties besides Thieu's own. In the meantime, five of Saigon's 14 newspapers remain banned and all 24 opposition parties are illegal, as they have been for the past three years.

As both soldier and politician, Nguyen Van Thieu has fought the Communist menace from the North, and it remains his abdiing passion today. "We must be as patient as the Communist are," he mused last January. "My son, my grandson, my great-grandson must be patient." As for himself, Thieu added: "I will never desert. I may be overthrown, but I will never desert.

THE WORLD

Berets and played a key role in securing the area for Saigon. After the American withdrawal, however, ARVN troops, displaying the traditional Vietnamese contempt for the tribesmen, lost Montagnard support.

Large parts of Quang Tri and Thua Thien also had long since been outside Saigon's control. In addition, the narries was the property of the pr

Pentagon Indochina expert. "It will do him absolutely no good to keep the entire country in order to lose it."

Saigon's new defense strategy is plausible on paper, but it remains to be seen whether or not it will work where it counts-on the battlefield. Most analysts expect that Saigon will set up a northern defense line at Danang, while drawing as many units as possible south for the defense of Saigon and the rich southern provinces. There were ominous signs that the Communists would try to prevent that from happening. As ARVN soldiers and South Vietnamese civilians trekked south from Quang Tri on Route 1. Communist units, according to some reports, were following just a few hundred vards behind. Aerial photographs showed that the North Vietnamese have assembled an awesome number of Russian-made tanks in Quang Tri. It was "just like crickets swarming over a field," said one observer. "It's unbelievable."

everal formidable options were open to the Communiss elsewhere in the country. For one, the four North Vietnamese divisions entrenched in the Central High-ands could move eastward toward the coastal provinces south of Danna, Andrew Communist Seized Plunc Long province two months ago, they have been putting pressure on Tay William (Seize Communist), which have been putting pressure on Tay William (Seize Communist), with Ba Den (Black Virgin Mountain).

The Reaction of the Veteran

For hundreds of thousands of American veterans, the news from Viet Nam lant week had an intensely personal than week had an intensely personal who died in the war were killed in the Highlands and the northern provinces that the Satigon government has surrendered to the Communits. To find out how that the Satigon government has survendered to the Communits. To find out how expondents across the nation last week questioned men who are now civilians to exploit the survey of the survey of the well as a number still in uniform, the table, opinious were spit about a warter beginning. A sampling of view. From its beginning A sampling of view.

At American Legion Post 19 in a blue-collar section of Somerville, Mass, the withdrawal has been the topic of worried conversation." If the war keeps up, they may want to send more kids, and the standard of the work of the

Former Marine Sergeant Leonard Bodd, who now works for the department of public health in Rowley, Mass, spent 5½ years in North Victnamese prisoner-of-war camps after the truck he was driving near the DMZ was ambushed. Bodd feels that aid to Viet Nam should be cut off. "We were right to sup-ply them as long as the supply was need-out they had not use it wisely," he said. "But their morale as low as it is, and deserting at the rate they do, there would be noon do to!".

"I imagine they have their own good reasons, but I feel betrayed by the South

Vietnamese government," said Staff Sergeant Vale D. Short, 25, who is stationed at Fort Jackson, S.C. Short was a crew chief and a gunner on an assault helicopter flying out of Pleiku. "I wish we could go back over and do it right this time. I don't mean under the old rules, but in a real war."

Richard C. Williams, 32, an assistant dean at Princeton University, is a West Point graduate and a retired Army colonel. He saw action in both Pleiku and Kontum provinces. Williams regards last week's developments as "the logical, albeit tragic conclusion to the whole mess. My bitterness started halfway through my tour there. This week doesn't generate any new feeling. I'd long since given up the thought that I'd ever done anything over there that had real significance. One of the best people I ever knew died in Viet Nam. He had so much to offer the world. I can't imagine the feelings of parents who had sons who died in Kontum as they watch the region fall tonight."

"I get the overwhelming feeling of waste, waste, waste of everything," said William Hallisley, 25, a former medical corpsman in Viet Nam and now pres-

FORMER MEDICAL CORPSMAN HALLISLEY



ident-elect of the student government at Georgia State University.

"I served. I did my job. Now I don't care," said a former Marine now working for the Veterans Administration in New York City. His five closest friends were killed, fighting for the Highland provinces that were surrendered last week.

Tommy Clack, 28, a senior at Georgia State University, remains an ardent hawk even though, while serving in Viet Nam as an Army captain, he lost both legs above the knee, his right arm and part of his right shoulder. He is angered by what he calls the "isolationism" of Congress and feels that the pullout would not have happened if the South Vietnamees had received more aid. "I



CLACK WITH MISS ATLANTA

and trying to cut Route 22, which connects with Route 1 to Saigon. The Communists have recently moved their 3rd and 9th divisions into position around the area, preparing for what many analysts think will be the next major battle of the war. A final possibility was a concerted assault on Saigon itself. The Communists last week overran Duc Hué, a key base camp 30 miles west of the city and ambushed a truck convoy a bare 15 miles away. Some analysts feared that continued Communist success in the area could lead later this spring to an all-out offensive to take the city

Despite these grim possibilities, there were those last week who held to an optimistic interpretation of Thieu's great retreat. Many analysts, especially in the Pentagon, felt that Saigon had realistically given up provinces it was bound to lose anyway, shortened its supply lines, consolidated its forces and prepared a more defensible perimeter. Beyord that, it could be argued that the Communists would have to divert considerable effort and energy to consolidate their hold on the surrendered provinces.

The pessimistic view was that Thieu, by giving up so much territory without a fight, has created a serious morale problem for his army and his people. He has abandoned thousands of South Vietnamese to the Communists and created a horrendous refugee problem that dwarfs anything vet seen in the war.

"The best Thieu can hope for," concluded one State Department official,

FORMER ARMY CAPTAIN MILES

believe very strongly in what was happening in Viet Nam." he said. "If I could grow my limbs back. I would go back again. If I didn't go to Viet Nam. I would go to Israel. I just do not like to see oppressed people have things jammed down their throats."

Another former Army captain, Edward Miles, 30, also lost both legs in fighting near Tay Ninh in 1968, as well as one eye and partial use of his right arm. He does not share Clack's view. "It really is going down the drain," he said. "This week we can really see what a farce that whole thing was. It bothers

me to face it." Supposing he could go back to fight in Viet Nam? "If I could go back now," he answered, "Td fight with the North Vietnamese. They are the ones who are doing the right thing now,"

"You'd have to say that I was cynical," said Marine Captain John Ely, 35, who spent nine months at Fire Base Fuller in Quang Tri province. "They've had all the opportunities we can afford to give them. I don't care if they make it or not."

Larry W. Brauer, 31, an Army E5, is a career noncom stationed at Fort Jackson, S.C. He served a year in Viet Nam. "What about the guys who died in the provinces? What did all those people die for? I'd like for Congress to tell me." he said. "We allowed the draft dodgers and deserters to return. We told them that we were the ones that were wrong. Who's to tell the mothers and wives of those who didn't come back that it was all a mistake-that we were wrong, that their sons and husbands were wrong? I'm no dictator. I don't want the Vietnamese to live like I do. But I don't want them to live as Communists unless that's the thing they want to do. They shouldn't have to do what Congress says they have to do. I guess that means I still care."

"A friend of mine got blown apart in "A friend of mine got blown apart in "Sad an Army major last week, sipping coffee in a Pertugon cafeteria. Utilery unit. And now you see the people just walking away from Hue You don't say to yourself. He died for noting. But you ask: For what!" What have we got after nine years? Twenty-twenty minsight is a slowsy preferable, but we we got after nine years? Twenty-twenty through the work of the wor

"is a stalemate." Would more U.S. aid have helped? Ford Administration officials last week emphatically answered ves, and tried to blame Saigon's reverses on congressional failure to appropriate the extra \$300 million requested by the President. Secretary of Defense James Schlesinger argued that if the U.S. had been "less niggardly" toward South Viet Nam, Thieu would not have to give up the provinces. To support that point, White House Press Secretary Ron Nessen displayed an article from the Hanoi journal Hoc Tap that seemed to tie the current Communist offensive to a decline in the capability of Saigon's forces.

It is only logical to conclude that a reduction in U.S. aid to the South would encourage Hanoi in its war against Sainon. Still it is hard to argue convincingly that \$500 million more would have made the crucial difference. Even in the days when the U.S. was spending as billion a month in South Viet Nam, the Communists were capable of mounting costly countryide offensives. With at least 16 full divisions, totaling costly countryide offensives, with at least 16 full divisions, totaling south of the South. The South of th

esides, a lack of matériel is only part of Saigon's military problem. Even in the days when it had virtually unlimited ordnance, transport and firepower. ARVN was never as effective on the battlefield as were the Communist armies. Even today, though it no longer enjoys an overwhelming superiority in firepower, ARVN still outnumbers the Communists by some 3 to 1. Incompetent leadership, corruption, profiteering by officers and low pay for enlisted men often sapped the strength of Saigon's forces. True, because of the American nvolvement, Saigon has a far better fighting force than it had earlier in the war. But as the current desertion rate of 24,000 men a month indicates, ARVN still lacks the discipline and determination of its enemy.

More U.S. aid cannot stop the fighting. Only a negotiated settlement between Saigon and the Communists—or the currently implausible scenario of an unconditional surrender by one side or the other—can do that Hanoi still yearns for a political victory in the South —meaning, in Gibble 10 to 10 to 10 to 10 to 10 meaning, in Gibble 10 to 10 to 10 to 10 to 10 de callition government which the North Vietnamese would dominate:

But since the Communists refuse to deal with Thie, no political arrangement seems possible so long as he remains in power. Conversely, Thieu has made it clear that he will not tolerate a political role for the Communists. Thus the political role for the Communists. Thus the political role field is the war, and in that the Communists as of last week seemed to have the upper hand.



WOMAN & CHILDREN TAKING SHELTER DURING AN ATTACK ON PHNOM-PENH

CAMBODIA

Another Week of Survival

On March 18 five years ago, President Lon Nol led the coup in Phnom-Penh that forced neutralist Prince Norodom Sihanouk into exile. Last week rockets fired by the Khmer Rouge insurgents kept raining down on the besieged capital, more embassies closed. students demonstrated and a unit of loyalist troops went on strike, but somehow the government survived for another week despite a growing awareness that the U.S. Congress was not about to authorize any more military aid. Meanwhile, there were speculations that Lon Nol may be quitting as President within the next two weeks

If Lon Nol does step down, he would most probably be replaced by Sauk-ham Soy, a retired lieutenant general who is now president of the Senate. The key question would then be whether or not the Khmer Rouge would be willing to try to negotiate a settlement with Sauk-ham Soy, something they were unwilling to do with Lon Nol.

Airport Attocks. Weary government troops continued to fight for survival against the relentless Khmer Google of the continued to fight for survival against the relense transport for the continued to the continu

scraped together \$20 million to keep the artiff going for another month regardless of whether Congress approves more aid. The flights also concerned Thailand's new coalition government, which said that it was considering a ban on arms shipments from the country. The announcement was an apparent attempt by the government to win the support of strong leftist groups.

The heaviest fighting of the week took place in Neak Iuong, 32 miles southeast of the capital on the Mekong River. Pushing forward inexorably, the insurgents lowered the tubes of their artillery pieces and sent shell after shell screaming through the city on flat trajectories. Hundreds of civilians were killed or wounded every day, and many bodies were left to decompose in the streets. The attacks destroyed a naval ammunition dump, a fuel depot and a floating naval base. Helicopters to Phnom-Penh were the only means of escape; they were reserved for wounded soldiers and wealthy Cambodians who could afford the price of a ticket-\$75 to \$100

As the Khmer Rouge kept up their determined attacks, Israel, Poland and Singapore joined Australia and Britain in closing their embassies in Phnom-Penh. The French downgraded their embassy to a consulate and began to evacuate their staff and any French cirtures who wanted to leave. Last Monters who wanted to leave. Last Mondent Roy Rowan, a large group of French and Meits (French Cambodis gathered in front of the old embassy and started at the bright travel posters picsited and the properties of the control of the old embassy and started at the bright travel posters picturing the Eiffel Tower. Mont Blane and the stained glass windows of the Chartres Cathedral. Many of the evaces had never been to France, nor did they have relatives or friends there. As the buses pulled away, heading for the airport, the nurses and chauffeurs got work to the days and the stained they are said hopefully, when their masters and mistresses would return from Paris.

At the U.S. embassy, the rocketalarm siren wailed every day. Ambassador John Gunther Dean waited out the attacks in the lobby, behind heavy cement walls and two-inch-thick bulletproof windows. During two days last week, five people were killed and 22 were wounded by rockets that landed in the embassy block. Dean did his best to keep up everyone's spirits, even offering a buffet supper to newsmen and showing a movie (Peter Sellers in The Optimists), as though the war were a thousand miles away. But even the ambassador's humor turned grim at times. "Who was the guy who wrote the book on death row?" he asked, fumbling for the name of Rapist Caryl Chessman, who was executed in California in 1960. Last week the helicopter carrier

Okinawa was still patrolling the Gulf of Siam, and Washington had worked out plans to evacuate the 400 U.S. citizens still in Phnom-Penh; a short-wave radio network had been set up to reach Americans in an emergency. Presumably the rescue efforts would also involve some top Cambodian leaders who are believed to be on the Khmer Rouge wanted list. Meanwhile, there was a growing fear that even pro-government Cambodians might turn on the American community in a reaction born of frustration and defeat. There were anti-U.S. editorials in Phnom-Penh newspapers last week, and university students held demonstrations to protest the fact that the U.S. had given the aid that kept Lon Nol in power. At a rally, one spokesman said that the students would back "any government-Communist or not-as long as it brings peace

Low Morale. In the end, Phnom-Penh's survival may depend as much on the government soldiers' morale as upon their matériel, and their morale is not always high. About 300 members of the 7th Brigade, who had recovered from wounds, refused for a while to go back to duty because they had not been paid since January.

One small incident last week reflected the confusing, shifting fight of Phnom-Penh, in which the battle lines often seem to blut pogether. A wedge of 100 Khmer Rouge soldiers drove to the east bank of the Mekong, captured a government 105-mm. how/tzer and turned it on the city for a few hours. The government retainated with repeatured the property of the property



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The Red Baron

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Khmer Rouge: The Enigmatic Ghosts

A Western diplomat in Pinnom-Penh recently described the Khmer Rouge as 'the most insystences of the word's successful revolutionary movements'. Few if any Westerners know insurgent force-Cambodian nationalist, Cambodian Marsist or doctrinarie insurgent force-Cambodian nationalist, Cambodian Marsist or doctrinarie fugures whose views and personalities, for the most part, are far less underterparts in Hand, Moscow or Peking.

A notable exception is exiled Prince Norodom Sihanouk, the titular head of the Khmer insurgents and unquestionably the most popular man in Cambodia to this day. He is "chief of state" of the Royal Government of National Union of Cambodia-acronymically known in French as GRUNK-the shadow government nominally based in Peking. Most observers agree that Sihanouk has little power within the Khmer Rouge organization. If he should ever return to Cambodia as head of state, it would be as a figurehead who might serve to unite the Cambodian people around a Khmer Rouge government. Sihanouk himself has acknowledged this fact and repeatedly declared that in the event of a Khmer Rouge victory, he might spend eleven months of the year abroad, serving as a traveling good-will ambassador on behalf of the new government

Undone by Popularity. Sihanouk's "Deputy Premier" and commander-inchief of the Khmer Rouge fighting forces is Khieu Samphan, 43; he is the most prominent figure in the movement. Born in Cambodia's Svay Rieng province, Samphan studied from 1954-59 in France, where he earned a doctorate in economics at the University of Paris. In 1962, after Sihanouk brought him into the government as Secretary of State for Commerce, Samphan became a hero to young Cambodian intellectuals who opposed the corruption of the existing government. He drove to work on a motorbike and after long hours at the office would go home to work at night in a small upstairs room at his mother's house, while other ministers wallowed in the pleasures of life in the easygoing capital

In a sense. Samphan's popularity was his undoing. Sihanouk forced him to resign in 1963, charging him with incompetence. Three years later, though. Samphan was elected to the National Assembly. One April evening in 1967, during a peasant uprising in Battambag province that had set off an anti-bag province had been supported to the set of the sample of the sample

Two other Khmer Rouge leaders have backgrounds similar to Samphan's:

Information Minister Hu Nim. 42, and Minister of the Interior Hou Youn, 45. Both studied in Paris in the 1950s, served in Sihanouk's Cabinet briefly in the 1960s, fell out with the Prince and escaped into exile. Together, the three came to be known as the "three ghosts" of Cambodian politics because it was long believed that Sihanouk had ordered them executed in 1967 for alleged complicity in the Battambang uprising. But in May 1970, two months after Sihanouk's overthrow, the three announced. from somewhere in Cambodia, their support of Sihanouk's new "national front," which opposed the new govern-

ment of President Lon Nol.

After the three ghosts—Cambodian nationalists who had been variously influenced by Marxism—disappeared in 1967, they joined forces with a revolu-

the Khmer Rouge chief of staff. Until last year he was believed to be the thirdranking man in the Khmer Communist Party. Since a party reorganization, however, he seems to have been moved down a notch in the party hierarchy to make way for Khieu Samphan.

Curbed Influence. In the past three years, leftiss within the Khmer Rouge have drastically curbed Shianouk's influence. Since the last Cabinet reshuffle only two portfolios in the shadow government have been retained by men known to be loyal to the Prince. Ieng Sary recently made a two-week visit to Peaking, during which he saw Premier timed arms aid. Sary is not known to have conferred at all with Shianouk, his nominal chief of state.

At the same time, the Khmer Rouge have reduced North Viet Nam's influence. Back in 1970, the insurgents' fighting force of 3,000-5,000 men was large-



SAMPHAN, VICE MINISTER OF ECONOMY KOY THOUN, THE PRINCE & HU NIM From leader to good-will ambassador?

tionary movement that had been organized by a small group of doctrinaire Marxists who had fallen out with Sihanouk several years earlier. Among them were three revolutionaries who had also studied in Paris but were unknown to most of their countrymen.

• Ieng Sary, 44, now the special adviser to Samphan, is also secretary-general of the Khmer Communist Party Sary often visits Peking, and on earlier trips kept a careful eye on Sihanouk and his followers there; in 1973 he accompanied the Prince on a visit to Khmer Rouge-controlled regions of Cambodia. Some Cambodians regard him as a hard-line Communist who has helped make the movement intractable and uncompromising.

and uncompromising.

▶ Saloth Sar, 47, is chairman of the Khmer Communist Party and thus one of its most powerful men. Little is known about him beyond the fact that he was born in Kompong Thom province, studied at an industrial school in Phnom-Penh and took a radio technician's course in France.

▶ Son Sen, 44, a onetime teacher, is

ly dominated by several thousand a Cambodians who had been training in Hanoi since 1954. Until 1972 the insurents were still under direct North Vielnamese command. During the Easter of fensive that year, Hanoi transferred most of its Cambodia-based troops to South Viet Nam, and the Khmer Kouge established their own general staff. Since 1974, when the insurgents expanded with women and teen-agers conscripted as porters and stretcher bearers. North Vietnamese troops have not been engaged in Cambodian combat.

What kind of government would the Khmer Rouge impose on Cambodia? French diplomats believe that the movement's nationalist and pro-Peking elements will endure. State Department experts feel strongly bint Hanoi's infinitece will prevail. The most optimistic Westrol observers believe the Khmer nationalism, teniforced by the readitional readitional readitional readitional readitional readitional and Vietnamese, will create a sort of Viugoslav brand of Communism that is distinctively Cambodian.

The Kissinger Shuttle: In the End, a Mission Impossible

"Unfortunately, the differences on a number of key issues have proven irreconcilable. We, therefore, believe a period of reassessment is needed so that all concerned can consider how best to proceed toward a just and lasting peace." With that admission of failure, read to newsmen in Jerusalem by State Department Spokesman Robert Anderson. Henry Kissinger's latest venture in shuttle diplomacy came to an abrupt and unhappy end. After 17 days of almost continuous commuting between Israel and Egypt, the Secretary suspended his efforts to get a second-stage disengagement and returned to Washington to report to President Ford and Congress. The official statement said that Kissinger would "remain in close touch with the Co-chairman of the Geneva Conference," referring to Soviet Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko

In Aswan Egyptian Foreign Minister Ismail Fahmy told newsmen that "because of the intransigent position of the Israelis it was not possible for [the Secretary] to succeed. Consequently, the Israeli government bears the sole responsibility for this failure." Answered an Israeli government spokesman. "Egypt refused all offers, and that ended the talks."

Intense Meetings. Neither side faulted Kissinger for not having done his best to break the deadlock. Nonetheless the Secretary failed to make the "conceptual breakthrough" essential to an agreement. Israel wanted more in the way of a nonbelligerency pledge from Egypt, in return for sizable pullbacks in the Sinai, than Sadat was willing to concede. No matter how he pressed the opportunities. Kissinger failed to budge either side. The Secretary's mission ended in Jerusalem, where he had a series of intense meetings with Premier Yitzhak Rabin, who felt the issue so urgent that he summoned his cabinet to a rare Sabbath session. In the end, the Israelis decided that they could not make any further concessions

In the Secretary's mind, at least, one complicating factor in the latest round of shuttle diplomacy was declining



Despite a stress on dire alternatives, there was no conceptual breakthrough.

American prestige, caused by the troubles facing the present Saigon and Phnom-Penh governments. The Secretary told newsmen traveling with him aboard the shuttle that both Arabs and Israelis had brought up the unavoidable question of the long-range credibility of U.S. commitments. Indeed, one Israeli diplomat last week confirmed the fact that "the cloud of Viet Nam increases our intransigence." The Syrian Baath party newspaper Al Baath, with Israel obviously in mind, crowed that "the U.S. is not a reliable friend." But most dinlomatic experts doubted that the problems of Indochina had any real impact on Kissinger's peace-keeping mission.

At most, it was only a secondary complication. The main difficulty for Kissinger on his latest shuttle was that Egypt and Israel, despite their oft-expressed interest in making joint progress toward peace, had such widely varying diplomatic goals in the negotiations.

Sadat cannot sign a declaration of nonbelligerency until there is a final peace settlement involving Syria and the Palestinians as well as Egypt. Israel, for its part, demanded some specifics on nonbelligerent intentions from Egypt before withdrawing further in the Sinai. The Egyptians wanted a military document that would extend the disengagement agreement it signed with Israel in January 1974; the Israelis insisted that any new deal involve political agreements, in order to make an expensive and risky military pullback worthwhile.

No Bun. From Sadat's viewpoint, the big problem was Israel's insistence upon particular agreements concerning nonbelligerency, which, curiously, reminded one Western-schooled Egyptian diplomat of a cheeseburger. "Supposhe told TIME Correspondent Wilton Wynn in a kind of Big Mac analysis. "that you ask me for a cheeseburger and I flatly refuse to give it to you. You then say. 'O.K., don't give me the cheeseburger. But at least give me the bun. And perhaps the mustard and the cheese and the onion-and don't forget the meat.' That is how Israel is now trying to get what in effect would be nonbelligerency

The Israelis felt that Egypt was unwilling to give them the bun, much less anything in the way of condiments to go with it. Last week they made a number of concrete proposals to Kissinger to offer Sadat. Some were sincere, some were obviously unacceptable propaganda ploys, but all were rejected. Items:

b Israel proposed that any secondstage agreement remain in force for at least eight years. Egypt placed no time frame on an agreement but insisted upon a one-year limit for a U.N. peace-keeping forces mandate in the Sinai.

▶ Israel suggested an open-bridges policy in the Sinai similar to the one that allows traffic to pass between Jordan and the occupied West Bank. Egypt said no.

▶ Israel proposed a joint operation of the Abu Rudeis oilfields in the Sinai as a symbolic gesture that the two nations might cooperate on future peaceful projects. Once again, Egypt said no.

► Israel asked for an end to the economic boycott that Egypt, along with other Arab nations, has imposed since 1948. Egypt's reply was that it might

THE SECRETARY IN ASWAN WITH EGYPTIAN PRESIDENT SADAT AT THE OTHER END OF THE SHUTTLE





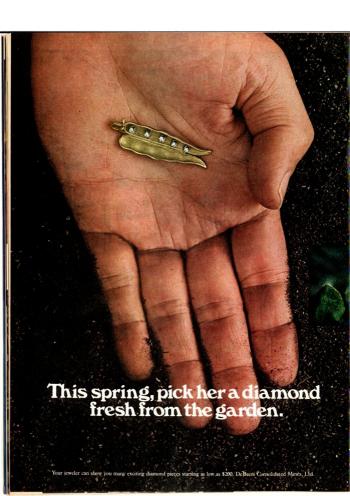
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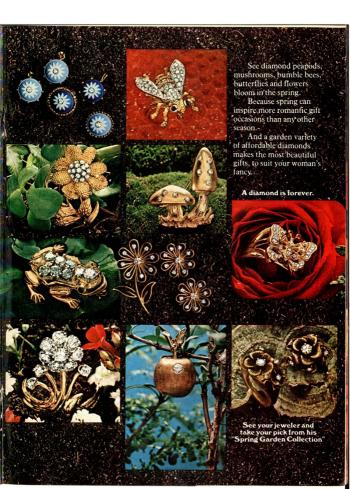
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ease the boycott on U.S. firms, among them Ford and Coca-Cola. "That's some swap," grumbled one Israeli diplomat. "Israel self-destructs to save Coca-Cola."

Nonetheless, there were a few small shifts in positions during the week that gave Kissinger reason to carry on the talks for as long as he could Sadat told Kissinger that he was prepared to assent to a "declaration of non-warlike intentions" in which both sides would agree not to use force to "settle the Middle East crisis." The Israelis felt that the formulation was too vague for comfort

Israel indicated willingness to pull back in the key Mitla and Gidi passes of the Sinai-not to the eastern rim as Egypt wants, but at least far enough back to put the Suez Canal out of range of Israeli artillery. In return, Jerusalem wanted the Egyptians to reduce the size of their armed forces, which would have allowed the Israeli government to cut military enlistments by six months and thus demonstrate signs of peaceful progress to civilians at home.

The failure of the shuttle obviously increased the chances of another Arab-Israeli armed conflict. At week's end, the atmosphere on both sides was tense. The logical next step, if peace is to be preserved, would be another session of the Geneva Conference—even though it could easily turn into a propaganda-laden shouting match, with the Russians egging on the most radical Arab participants. Nonetheless, it appeared that a return to Geneva was almost the only

alternative to a shooting war.

EUROPE

Threat From the Southern Tier

Southern Europe has long been an area of extremes—in poverty, in religion and in politics—as well as an occasion—also assured of axines—in poverty, in religion and in politics—as well as an occasion—as of the politics—as well as an occasion—as of the politics—as well as an occasion—as of the politics—as of the polit

In Portugal, the Communist Party of Alvaro Cunhal, backed by leftistminded officers of the ruling junta, has emerged as the most zealous and disciplined political group in the country since the April 1974 revolution. Some observers fear that something comparable may eventually happen in neighboring Spain, where the reactionary government of aging Dictator Francisco Franco totters from crisis to crisis.

In Italy, where the Communists have been the nation's second largest political organization (though always remaining in opposition), party leaders are thinking seriously of seeking a share of power through the hallot box. In Greece, the Communists gained only 9% of the vote in last November's elections, but they too are disciplined and may do better next time.

The move to the left is bound to have an impact on other European nations. As former French Premier Pierre Mendès-France, an elder statesman of the moderate left, noted last week: "In a good or a bad sense, what happens in Portugal will set a precedent in Spain. in Italy, in Greece, and will not be without deep echoes in France." The Stuttgarter Zeitung wondered aloud last week: "Are we in the West already encircled by the Communists?" Yet in the northern tier of Europe, Communists are blocked by strong democratic parties at the center as well as by sophisticated voters. Indeed, if there is a threat at all in countries like West Germany, it comes from the right, where young people turned off by the radical movements of the early '70s are increasingly active in conservative university groups.

Ironically, some Communists are also worried about the leftist turn in the southern tier. Ever since the Allende debacle in Chile two years ago, party leaders have been vividly conscious of the danger that lies in too sudden a leftward lurch of democratic nations. Fortunately for the West. Moscow also seems to realize that too much Communism too soon in the southern tier would be a decidedly mixed blessing. Yet goals remain the same. Although it has not in any way abandoned its aim of helping foster a steady erosion of the NATO alliance, the Soviet Union has clearly warned comrades in the southern tier to make haste slowly.

Portugal: Squeezing Out the Moderates

With brisk dispatch, Portugal's leftist-dominated Revolutionary Council moved last week to consolidate its powers. In the aftermath of the previous week's right-wing coup attempt, the allmilitary 24-member council appeared on television for the first time before being sworn in at ceremonies in the president's office at Belém Palace.

Even before the swearing-in. the council had decreed the nationalization of Portugal's banks and insurance companies, which control more than half of the country's industries. Last week President and the country's industries Last week President and Costa Gomes remains at the head of the country industries. Last week president are with President Francisco du Costa Gomes remains at the head of the resignations of his 15-member Cabinet, banned three political parties that west necessition of intelling violence that west necessition in this go understand the control of the country of the

Gonçalves immediately went into secret session with leaders of the parties represented in the previous government—the Popular Democratic, Socialists and Communists. He also talked with representatives of the small Democratic Movement Party, an avantande Marxist group that is closely linked to the Communists, about their bid for a post in the new Cabine in the new Cabine

At week's end the new coalition had





Cunhal: A Formidable Communist

For much of the past four decades he has been in prison (14 years in all) or in exile. The rest of the time he lurked in a shadowy, hotly pursued underground movement. Even so. Alvaro Cunhal, 61, secretary-general of the Portuguese Communist Party is surprisingly well known. A brilliant lawyer with blazing black eyes and a mane of thick silver hair, he returned from Eastern Europe to a tumultuous red-banner welcome only a few days after the April 1974 revolution that toppled the old right-wing dictatorship. Since then. with his debonair good looks, smooth manner and legendary reputation as a dedicated Communist opponent of the former regime, he has become probably the most formidable politician in Portugal.

Cunhal was born in the town of Sé

relations with the international Communist movement. In 1949 he was caught and again imprisoned. When he managed to escape from the infamous Peniche prison in 1961, Cunhal had spent eight full years in solitary confinement.

"Where did I live after excaping." Cunhal asks retorcially. "Many places I was a gypsy. But I never ran away from Portugal." Western intelligence sources say that he spent much of that time in Prague. He was reportedly in the Czechoslovak capital in 1968 when the Russians invaded. He publicly came out in support of the invasion. Cunhal ries hard to lock and sound like a moderate, advocating a free press, political the power of the landowners and manopolies must be ended. Cunhal also say that all existing agreements, including the power of the landowners and manopolies must be ended. Cunhal also says that all existing agreements, including the power of the landowners and manopolies must be ended. Cunhal also says that all existing agreements, including the power of the landowners and manopolies must be ended.



PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST LEADER ALVARO CUNHAL DISCUSSING PARTY PROGRAM IN LISBON

Nova, the son of an impecunious country lawyer. As a law student at Lisbon University, Cunhal received the highest grades ever recorded, even though he had to finish his studies from prison (he was jailed numerous times during that period for being a Communist). In 1935 he went to Moscow for the annual Communist International Youth Congress. where he impressed the party with his eloquent oratory. The following year he was sent to Madrid on a special mission during the first months of the Spanish Civil War. When he tried to slip back to Portugal, he was arrested and tortured. Out of prison after a year, he began his vida clandestina (life in hiding) that did not end until after the April revolution 38 years later

Working clandestinely, he formed a nucleus of professional revolutionaries, creating a broader-based anti-Fascist movement, and organized strikes, set up an underground press and established ing ties with NATO and U.S. base arrangements, should be respected. But then, not so long ago he was saying that then, not so long ago he was saying that the Communist Party would not insist on nationalization either, and while he might bide his time on NATO, nobedy expects him to do so indefinitely. Rumors perist that the Soviets are seeking refueling facilities in Madeira for their fishing fleet, a move which would hardly sit well with NATO.

A modest man who keeps his pri-

A modest man who keeps his private life so quiet that no one even knows whether he is married, Cunhal attributes the party's success to tirreless organization. In Path to Victory, published in 1964, he wrote. Those who witness great struggles by the masses. ... many is a constraint of the property of

still not been announced. Government ministers said that the new Cabinet, like the outgoing one, would be predominantly military with perhaps a larger representation of Communists, who formerly held two posts. One rumored change was that Mario Soares, the Society of the control of the contr

Equally unclear was the precise ideological makeup of the Revolutionary Council. The 200-man Armed Forces Movement (M.F.A.), which has guided government policy since last April's revolution, created the council as a supreme political authority in an all-night session following the coup attempt. Many moderates, who had previously defeated similar attempts to create such a council, were in hiding or frightened away from the emergency meeting. The council reflects radical thinking in the M.F.A.," said a European diplomat. 'More than that we cannot say with assurance." Late last week the council increased its membership to 28 with the addition of four new members, including three prominent moderates. They are expected to provide a braking influence on the radicals.

Rival Rallies, Even before that, the council moved swiftly against what Costa Gomes described as "those few persons who cannot distinguish between being free and being liberated, confusing democracy with the absence of authority and legality." Two radical leftist parties, the tiny Alliance of Workers and Farmers and the student-dominated Movement for the Reorganization of the Proletariat Party (M.R.P.P.), were banned. Both were accused of staging violent street demonstrations and disrupting rival political rallies, but some observers thought that they were being eliminated at the behest of Portugal's Moscow-oriented Communists. "The Communist game is to play Mr. Clean, said one foreign diplomat. "The Maoists would only have been in the way, fueling fears both here and abroad that dangerous leftist loonies were on the loose."

Also banned was the small, conservative Christian Democratic Party, whose leader, Major Sancheo Osorio, a whose leader, Major Sancheo Osorio, a depote the conservative party, the Center Social Democratic Party Party

which was originally scheduled for April 12, the government said that it was doing so for technical reasons. One problem was getting ballots printed up with the new list of eleven instead of 14 eligible parties. Another snag was the

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election commission's realization that several parties had picked the hammer and sickle as their symbol. That would have made it difficult for the estimated 2 million illiterates among Portugal's 6 million voters to make their choice. Those parties will now be asked to find new symbols. The official three-week campaign is scheduled to get under way next week.

Some foreign observers were openly skeptical as to whether the elections would mean much under the rules established by the Revolutionary Council. Before the coup and the subsequent crackdown, there were estimates (admittedly rough) that the middle-of-the-road Popular Democrats and the Center Social Democrats would win 60% of the vote and the Socialists another 25%. But the Communists could conceivably enlarge their estimated 12% of the vote should other leftist groups swing their support to them. Says Francisco Pinto Balsemão, editor of the weekly magazine Expresso and a founder of the Popular Democrats: "The Communists have already imposed their view of socialism on the country through the Revolutionary Council and through nationalization. I'm a non-Communist, not an anti-Communist. But I'm more inclined to be an anti-Communist as each day passes

Meanwhile, observers were still trying to piece together the events that led up to the abortive right-wing coup. The attempt was so inept that some people in Lisbon speculated that the left may have deliberately stirred up violence in hopes of provoking a premature rightwing effort to seize power so that it could be easily crushed. In an ironic twist, former President António de Spinola, the alleged leader of the plot, wound up in exile in Brazil along with former Dictator Marcello Caetano, whose regime he helped topple last year. In an interview in São Paulo with TIME's Barry Hillenbrand, Spinola said that he stood on a fellow officer's statement that the coup had been a pre-emptive strike intended to head off an alleged Communist plot to assassinate 500 military officers and 1,000 civilians. He also claimed that he had made plans to leave Portugal even before the ill-fated attack on the Lisbon barracks. Said he: "When a person goes to the cinema and does not like the movie, he gets up and leaves. I did not like the show.

Choolic Takeover. Some accounts from Portugal suggested that Spinola's role was not so passive. Apparently convinced that he could save his country from the chaos and Communist takeover he feared. Spinola reportedly plotted over open telephone lines with ultraphitis to overthrow the government. Moderate officers, who might conceive the convention of the convention of members of the old regime and feared that a rightist uptising would end up in Childena-style mass-tree of leftists and plunge the country into civil war.

Spain: The Right Clamps Down

A Spaniard visiting Moscow stops at the Kremlin wall, where his Russian host takes him to view Lenin's remains. "We have one like that," shrugs the Spaniard. "But he sits up and talks," That Madrid joke about ailing Generalisasimo Francisco Franco, 82, would be merely crude were in not for the activation of the sits of the sits

Spaniards have grown increasingly restive since Franco reclaimed the powabout the centrifugal pull the Portuguese revolution could have on Spain. The regime's response has been to clamp down even more. Says one leading Socialist: "The Old Guard is praying desperately that the Portuguese revolution will fail. Although the government is saving nothing, we know many of its members are secretly delighted that Portugal seems to be moving to a military dictatorship of the left. This is bad news for us too. We want a democratic Spain, and our chances of achieving that can be destroyed if the Portuguese Communists and military go too far.

In the middle of the struggle is Premier Carlos Arias Navarro, 66, a former mayor of Madrid and Interior Minister. He became No. 2 man in the government just over a year ago after Basque separatists assassinated Admiral



FRANCISCO FRANCO & WIFE RECEIVING COMMUNION AT CLOSE OF RELIGIOUS GATHERING The old man, it is said, is not really aware of the new Spain.

ers he briefly relinquished to Prince Juan Carlos, 37, after suffering a near-fatal stroke last summer. The government has grappled uncertainty with the problems assaulting it on all sides. Says one long-time political expert who is now outside Franco's government: "If the present situation is prolonged indefinitely, it will be disastrous."

Franco's return to power set off a largely behind-the-scenes struggle. Right-wing veterans of the Falange movement warn that if dissidence festers, Spain faces the kind of disorder that they now feel exists in Portugal. Opposed to the Old Guard are reformers who argue that if Spain does not move toward change, discontent will become uncontainable.

Although the government has sught to exhibit an air of calm about recent events in Portugal, there is no question that it is extremely concerned Luis Carrero Blanco, whom Franco had designated "the bridge for the succession." Although respected for his integrity, Arias does not really have Franco's ear and thus finds it hard to control the Cabinet factions. His major innovation—an aperturnismo, or opening, of the political process—was to have allowed a spectrum of parties to organize and the cause the aim effect part the ware permissible, the offer failed to attract any new groups.

Pitched Bortles. Labor unrest appliched Bortles. Labor unrest apthough strike and the pitched bortles. Albanes and the pitched bortless and the laboration of the pitched bortless and the 1974 involving more than 700,000 works. S. In the rebellious Basque country, 200,000 workers went on a one-day general strike on the anniversary of the Burgos trials of 16 Basque guerrillas charged with the murder of a police chief. Many of the strikes involve worker complaints that government-proposed cost of living increases are not keeping up with Spain's inflation rate (24% last year). More importantly, for the first time in Spanish history, workers in one industry have openly supported dissident workers in another industry

University students are also unhappy. Late last month at Valladolid University, angry students bombarded an unpopular rector with eggs. Police seized on what would ordinarily be regarded as a minor incident to shut down most of the university until next October, effectively cutting off a year's study for 10,000 students. Strikes have periodically closed down universities all across Spain, and there have been pitched battles between demonstrators and police. Last week a substantial number of the University of Madrid's 70,000 students were still boycotting classes to protest the closing of Valladolid.

The support of two traditional pillars of the Franco regime-the Roman Catholic Church and the army-is also faltering. The clergy has become in-creasingly critical of the government. Numerous priests, particularly in the north of Spain, have been detained and fined for delivering sermons considered radical. Last week even the usually conservative Archbishop of Madrid, Vicente Cardinal Enrique y Tarancón, expressed anger over the government's peremptory ban of a long-planned church rally to discuss conditions among poor migrants in the Madrid suburb of Vallecas. The reason given was that extremists planned to use the meeting to voice antigovernment feelings.

Prison Terms. Symptomatic of the military's discontent, two army officers. Major Julio Busquets, 42, and Captain José Julvez, 27, recently refused to carry out an order to survey the political opinions of railway workers in restless Barcelona. Two days later, some 25 officers in the Barcelona area signed a statement supporting the men, asserting that "the army is not a public order force, but is to serve the people." Both men drew prison terms.

Franco, meanwhile, shows no sign of being willing to step aside. Although he suffers from Parkinson's disease. phlebitis and a palsied right hand, he still meets with selected ministers and presides over the ritual Friday-morning Cabinet meeting. But Cabinet meetings are no longer the five-hour sessions they once were, when Franco was aware of the most inconsequential details of the proceedings. Says an intimate: "The old man doesn't want to be told what he doesn't want to hear. He is not really aware of the new Spain.

Many Spaniards fear that the rightwing Falangists-who do have his ear -will tell him something he may want to hear: that more repression is the answer. In that case, the flag of liberalization, already at half-staff, may come down altogether.

Italy: Détente at the Neighborhood Level

Rome's Fiumicino airport was jammed with pilgrims last week. Some were Roman Catholics arriving to observe the Holy Year paschal ceremonies in the Eternal City. More secular-minded visitors included Communist delegations from 70 countries, who flew in for the 14th National Congress of the Italian Communist Party. It promised to be the most important such meeting in years. Principal topic on the six-day agenda was the compromesso storico
—the "historic compromise" under which for the first time the Communists seek partnership in an Italian govern-

ITALIAN COMMUNIST LEADER BERLINGUER A new, respectable image.

ment. As a result of economic disorder and disenchantment over an inept succession of center-left coalition governments dominated by the Christian Democrats. Communist hopes have never been brighter.

As thunderstorms raged outside Rome's Palazzo dello Sport, Party Secretary Enrico Berlinguer, 52, explained the significance of the compromise in a 31/4-hour keynote addressed to the 1.124 Italian delegates at the congress. It was Berlinguer who two years ago first proposed the idea that Italy's second largest party should become a partner in the government, after 30 years of opposition. Berlinguer argued that Communist participation in a government with other parties was essential "for the future of Italian democracy." He did not spell out the specific terms under which the party would enter such a government, in what some observers refer to as "détente at the neighborhood level."

In an apparent effort to placate political moderates, the secretary promised that the Communists, if they came to power, would seek a Europe-oriented foreign policy for Italy, independent of both superpowers and hostile to neither. He also said that the party would not insist upon Italy leaving NATO. In deference to the church, which strongly opposes the historic compromise. Berlinguer promised that the Communists

would pay "rigorous fidelity to the concept of tolerance and respect for every convic-

tion and faith." Berlinguer's theories are rejected by some hard-liners within the party, who were brought up on the classic revolutionary dogma of unending class struggle. Nonetheless, it was virtually certain that the delegates would approve the secretary's platform. The larger question was the reaction of other Italian political parties. Amintore Fanfani, the conservative secretary of the Christian Democratic Party, remains adamantly opposed. "If the Christian Democrats do not want to commit suicide." he said earlier this month, "they must say no to the compromesso storico tomorrow, as well as today." But left-wing Christian Democrats are not that opposed to the idea, nor are some socialists and members of the small but influential Republican Party.

Since he became secretary of the party in 1972. Berlinguer-the Sardinian scion of landowning aristocrats -has worked hard to promote a new respectable image for the Communists. Many middle-class Italians apparently believe that the

Communists are not the threat they seemed to be a few years ago. A recent poll by the Milan daily Corriere della Sera showed that 38% of the voters were in favor of the compromise, while 34.9% were opposed; 27.1% were either undecided or confused as to what the compromise would mean.

That poll, however, was taken before the sudden emergence of the militant. Communist-led left in Portugal. which Berlinguer sought to explain away last week as "a very complicated political process" following four decades of fascism. "It is clear." he insisted, "that conditions in Italy are altogether different from those in Portugal." Nevertheless, when word reached Rome that Portuguese Christian Democrats had been barred from upcoming elections, a delegation of Italian Christian Democrats, attending the Communist congress as observers, walked out in protest.

The possibilities for compromise will be clearer in June, when regional and municipal elections take place across Italy. The Communists are expected to do well. For one thing, membership in the party has risen to 1,601,507, an increase of 135,000 in three years. For another, Parliament earlier this month passed a law lowering the voting age from 21 to 18; nearly 40% of these newly enfranchised youths are expected to vote Communist, either from conviction or from dissatisfaction with lack of jobs and inflation. Even if the Communists win heavily, however, Berlinguer indicated last week that the party will wait for power rather than demand it or fight for it openly. Said he: "We are a patient, tenacious people.

BRITAIN

For the Market, More or Less

After five years of flip-flopping over whether or not he really favors British participation in the Common Market, Harold Wilson slid gingerly off the fence last week. In Parliament, the Prime Minister announced that "Her Majesty's government have decided to recommend to the British people that they should vote [in a June referendum] in favor of staying in the Community. Wilson's words were greeted with considerable cynicism. "Large numbers on this side always thought you would do sarcastically observed William Hamilton, a pro-Market Labor M.P. Added Liberal Party Chief Jeremy Thorpe with heavy irony: "The right honorable gentleman deserves to be congratulated on the consistency he has always shown on European matters.

In fact, Wilson's Labor government had given the EEC something less than a ringing endorsement. Seven of the 23 Cabinet members, including such influential left-wing radicals as Employment Secretary Michael Foot and Industry Secretary Anthony Wedgewood Benn, opposed the decision; estimates are that at least 139 of the 318 Labor M.P.s will vote against Wilson's recommendation when it is put to an initial vote in Commons next month. Moreover, 18 of the 30 members of Labor's National Executive said that they will reject the Cabinet recommendation when it is put up for approval at a special meeting of the party, probably in early May.

The government recommendation is virtually certain of parliamentary approval, if only because the Labor proMarketeers can count on the support of about 260 of the 276 Tories and eleven of the 13 Liberals. For the moment, at least, public opinion seems to be on the side of Europe. The most recent Harris poll indicated that 45% of the voters favor staying in the Community, with 33% opposed and 22% undecided. The poll was taken before this month's Dublin summit of Common Market government leaders who granted concessions to make Britain's continued participation more acceptable. They approved renegotiated terms that could give Britain an annual refund of up to \$300 million on its contributions to the Community budget and allow it to import New Zealand butter at low duty rates.

Road to Damascus. In light of the ong opposition within the Labor Party to the Cabinet's position, no one was particularly surprised when Wilson indicated that he might not campaign actively for the referendum. "I believe that continued Community membership is the best course for Britain," he said in a television interview, "but I don't believe the British people would believe me if I said I had seen the road to Damascus somewhere between Dublin and Lon-" Apparently, the Prime Minister had decided to adopt a shrewd and presumably fail-safe strategy. By not fighting strongly for the Market, he might be able to use his image as a cool, pragmatic Marketeer to win marginal voters who would be turned off by the passionate appeals of committed pro-Europe Laborites. If by chance the referendum fails, Wilson could then claim that all along he had doubts. which the electorate had confirmed.

One unanswered question is whether Wilson might not have totally outfoxed himself by agreeing to an EEC referendum. Back in 1970, he went on record



WILSON ADDRESSING POLITICAL MEETING On the side of Europe.

as being opposed to such a device on the ground that it was unnecessary in a parliamentary democracy. He agreed to the referendum in 1972 only to avoid a split within the Labor Parry—and to put the former Conservative government of Edward Heath on the defensive for refusing to let the people have their say about Market membership.

Now Britain faces a divisive three months before the vote during which pro-Market industry and anti-Market unions will line up on different sides, Laborites will fight Laborites, and many British families will be more politically divided than they have been since the Suzer Canal crisis of 1956. In Short, Wilson may have worked out a formula for saving his own political need—at the elect-di may be a six standard-bearer.



"I should like to point out that at no stage has my position changed . . . "

Cher, to Place and Show

To the Editors: Cher! The most beautiful TIME cover [March 17] since Man O' War!

Murray Gross Tucson, Ariz.

A TIME cover story? Is there anything else America can do to help this "mildly talented creature totally fashioned by show business"?

Maxine Steward Mesa, Ariz.

Bravo! A cover story that will probably cause a rash of derogatory letters from jealous housewives and the fans of Lawrence Welk, but one for which I express my admiration and thanks.

Cher has evolved into a polished performer with tremendous vocal abilities, comic timing, and a sleek, sexy approach to all she does. Through the tumult of the past ten years her star has continued to shine, and I can only hope that it will shine for ten times ten more. I. Slivinski

Pittsburgh

Disgusting—your recent cover. I tore it off and threw it away all crumpled up. Judith F. Bonnie

ith F. Bonnie Louisville

Some weeks it's tough to look at your cover and see a world of war, violence and economic misery. However, as one of "the older boys" of the family, I

found the edition with beautiful Cher on the front was a treat. And past the cover, her story was well worth the reading.

Bill Stanyar

Toronto

Where Are the Hittites?

You attribute to me the view that "Israel's survival is in grave doubt." No. Israel—the people and the land—will survive every existing hostile nation. Where now are the Hittles? The Jebusites? Who lately has interviewed a Girgashite? What news is there from the Amalekites?

Those who study hatred are blotted or Israel continues, from Father Abraham to this [March 10] issue of TIME. A generation will come when our descendants will look on these dread portraits of King Faisal as Shelley looked on the rubble of Ozymandias' sneer.

Cynthia Ozick New Rochelle, N.Y. Who in the hell do you think you're kidding? Do you seriously expect your readers to believe that if there were 6 million Arabs sitting in prominent positions in politics, finance and mass communications in this country and only a handful of Jewish rug peddlers, that Presidents from Rossevelt through Ford would have been outspoken Zionists?

There are millions of Americans like myself who, while we sympathize with the sufferings of the lewish people unterpreted for Tyrans from Torquemada through Hiller, do not feel that the U.S. is obliged. Hiller, do not feel that the U.S. is obliged Israel. Don't give us any more of that precause it is right!" jive. I don't wannt integrity of breause it is right!" jive. I don't wannt in the myself was and in the interests of Zionism, and I think most Americans feel the same.

Brone F. Samuels

Syron F. Samuels Valleio. Calif.

Jews withhold financial support from politicians who speak their minds if what they say is not fa-

vorable to Israel. Arabs
try to counteract. They
withhold business from
Jews. But that is a blacklist. Wake up, America:
double standards will
not get you anywhere.

K.M. Khattab

K.M. Khattab Sudbury, Ont.

TIME's cover story asks us to show an element of trust regarding a Middle East settlement. Are we supposed

ment. Are we supposed to trust Terrorist Arafat, or the oil sheiks, or the U.N., or international guarantees that were worthless

Max Weissenberg Fairfax, Calif.

Disinclined as one may be to take exception to Washington sources, I must disassociate myself from the remarks attributed to me in TIME's March 10 issue. General Brown is a dedicated officer of excellent professional judgment as well as a patriot and gentleman. Had 1 the view erroneously ascribed to me of General Brown, he would not have become Chairman of the Joint Chiefs.

Let me state quite succinctly: I am proud of my association with General Brown—as an officer and as a man. J.R. Schlesinger

Secretary of Defense Washington, D.C.

TIME stands by the accuracy of its report.

in the past?

The Cold War

The American Medical Association continues its unjustified effort to downgrade vitamin C [March 24]. The effectiveness of vitamin C against the common cold is not nil, as stated by the A.M.A. Instead, every one of the twelve controlled studies that have been carried out in which subjects were exposed to cold viruses by contact with other people and in which some subjects regularly received the vitamin C, an average of 1,000 mg, per day, and others received an inactive tablet, gave the result that the vitamin-C subjects had less illness than the controls. The average amount of decreased illness for the vitamin-C subjects was 37%. There is no doubt that vitamin C, taken regularly or taken in large amounts at the first sign of a cold, leads to significant protection against colds for most people.

The A.M.A. spokesmen ignored three of the important studies and misrepresented the others. They also mentioned the possibility of serious adverse side effects but referred to them as hypothetical. The danger of forming kidney stones has been greatly exaggerated Vitamin C is a much safer substance than ordinary cold medicines, moreover, and the substance of the control of the con

Linus Pauling Linus Pauling Institute of Science & Medicine, Menlo Park, Calif.

Scott Derailed

I might agree with the Hon. Hugh Scott that railway nationalization would not work in the U.S. [March 17], but reject his comment about the present state of the nationalized British railways. As an American who has spent two years in England, I find the rail service here without equal anywhere with the possible exception of Japan.

Paul Muller Newcastle upon Tyne, England

Heroine Levi

You do injustice to Kochava Levi, heroine of the Savoy Hotel attack, by re-porting that she "slipped free herself when she was allowed to accompany one of the wounded from the hotel" [March 17]. She saved the life of the wounded by the she was the she would be the she will be the she said later that she could not save only herself when others were still in danger.

Ann Baranes Tel Aviv

Address Letters to TIME, Time & Life Building. Rockefeller Center, New York, N.Y. 10020





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More. It's the first 120mm cigarette. Longer and slower-burning than a conventional cigarette. More gives you more time for those relaxing moments. More flavor yet surprising mildness.

ing mildness.

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the state of the s



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PEOPLE

The London Times called it "the cheekiest of parliamentary guides," but a few members of Britain's House of Commons have been less complimentary about The M.P.'s Chart. The 83-page booklet is a collection of irreverent thumbnail descriptions of British politicians written by Manchester Evening News Correspondent Andrew Roth. In Roth's updated pocket guide, Andrew Faulds, a Labor M.P. and former actor, is dismissed as "tall, bearded, rude, sextrovert " Conservative Leader Margaret Thatcher rates a more splendid oxymoron: "blonde, stainless-steel Dresden china." Liberal Leader Jeremy Thorpe is characterized as a "middlebrow, U.S.style show-biz politician." Because almost a quarter of the 635 seats in the Commons changed during last year's two elections, Roth's directory has grown increasingly useful to Parliament watchers. His only concession to propriety, however, has been to adjust his use of the King's English to avoid misunderstanding: "gay" politicians have been redescribed as "genial" or "jovial

"I can't imagine my life changing. The things I am interested in are things that money can't buy," said Julie Roy, 36. a department-store clerk who had just been awarded \$350,000 by a Manhattan court. For nine days Roy was in a courtroom face-off with Psychiatrist and Cosmopolitan Columnist Renatus Hartogs, 66, who, she claimed, had mixed professional advice with sexual advances (TIME, March 24). Sexual intercourse with the good doctor, claimed Roy, had only produced severe depression and two involuntary stretches in a New York psychiatric ward. Last week a six-member jury awarded the \$65-a-week clerk \$250,000 in compensatory damages and another \$100,000 in punitive damages. Hartogs, meanwhile, was left to ponder the possible loss of his medical license and the prospect of a similar suit by another of his former patients.

"Seventy is wormwood/ Seventy is gall/ But it's better to be 70/ Than not alive at all." It is also better to be 71. which is Poet Phyllis McGinley's real age despite the birthday doggerel she composed for herself last week, "It couldn't matter less," she laughed, "now that it's out." Still a vigorous defender of the glories of housewifery, the 1961 Pulitzer prizewinner had little praise for modern poets. "They stopped using rhyme, and they stopped using meter," she complained. "They're just kind of wandering about, like Erica Jong." Slowed down recently by a stroke and pneumonia, Mc-Ginley has all but given up writing her own agile light verse. She spends her time in her Manhattan apartment reading and watching her favorite TV shows. M* A* S* H and The Streets of San Francisco. "I don't like any of the good programs. I like mush," she confessed. "I am the great common denominator."

Add one more name to the rolls of working wives. Citing the mounting legal bills of former Domestic Affairs Adviser John Ehrlichman, Wife Jeanne has signed on for a \$10,000-a-year publicly funded emergency employment job with the Seattle Symphony. A former parttime employee of the symphony, Jeanne qualified as a member of a "lower-income family," and has begun working as a school concert coordinator. The Ehrlichmans still occupy their big house overlooking Lake Washington, but, says Jeanne, "my family needs the money.

John hasn't worked in the past year, you know.

"My God, it's my father," marveled Margaret Trumon Doniel after watching Actor James Whitmore run through his role in give 'em hell harry! Whitmore, who toured the U.S. for three years as the gumchewing reincarnation of Humorist Will Rogers, returned to the stage in Hershey. Pa., this time with the blunt bons mots of Harry S. Truman. Among the show's props, naturally, is a copy of the famous Chicago daily Tribune that erroneously headlined Truman's 1948 election defeat by Governor Thomas Dewey. "I must have thrown away 50 of those," mourned Margaret, "Now they're worth \$5,000 each."

"I've got a much better dressing room now," rasped Comedian George Burns. "and when I go to the commissary, they have a seat waiting." There have

been other changes too since Burns, 79, and the late Gracie Allen filmed Honolulu back in 1939. Now fully recovered from open-heart surgery eight months ago, Burns is back on the movie sets for the first time in 36 years starring in Neil Simon's The Sunshine Boys. Co-starred with wrinkled, bewigged Walter Matthau, 51, Burns is replacing Jack Benny, who died last December. "When I worked with Gracie, I didn't have to do that much, just ask how her brother was and stand around smoking a cigar for 20 minutes while she talked," recalled Burns last week, "In Sunshine Boys I don't even have to tell jokes. Character actors don't have to get laughs." Pause. "Come to think of it, last time I played Vegas I was a character actor.



JEANNE EHRLICHMAN JOINS THE WORKING CLASS





RURNS IN HONOLULU (1939) & THE SUNSHINE BOYS (1975)

SHOW BUSINESS

Tommy Rocks In

TOMMY Directed and Written by

One thing is sure: there has never been a movie musical quite like *Tommy*, a weird. crazy. wonderfully excessive version of The Who's rock opera. Ken Russell is a film maker (*Women in Love*. *The Devils*) who glories in the kind of heightened visual absurdity that *Tommy* both invites and requires. Russell is also among the boldest of contemporary film.



CLAPTON & RUSSELL ON SET In gothic style.

makers. He fears nothing, including being bad, and he has often been. He is bad
occasionally here, but if does not matter,
finally. His unceasing visual imagination gives the movie an exhitarating objects the movie an exhilarating objects. As the or freal excitement, Tommy stirs a memory of a lyric from an old
Jerry Lee Lewis song: it shakes your
nerves and it rattles your brain.
As must be clear by now, Russell is

hardly interested in traditional narrative film making. He is not concerned with the usual standards of good taste either, except to mock and outrage them. His biographies of artists (Song of Summer. The Matic Lovers. Savage Mestabl display a sumptuously cavalier disregard for facts. It is fantasy that matters to for facts. The standard transparent consequence of the control of the control of the control is now with such fever dreams as The offities. The many is fairly restrained stuff, including sequences that are among the hest work Russell has ever done. This first attempt at a "rox opera" was composed by Peter Townshend of The Who and performed by the group on a record album released in 1969. Towns was closer to oration than open, but the was the following bloom to the entire piece was the following about the entire piece was the following the strong rock in roll, sometimes raunchy, sometimes hight-ning it at Manhattan's Metropolitan (Dyera House, an appearance that was been considered in the strong rock in the strong

Shaky Totem. What is best in this movie version is Ken Russell's attempt to comment upon and satirize a culture where a shaky totem like Tommy could attract such worshipful respect. Tommy shares with traditional operas a foolish libretto, this one having to do with a deaf, dumb and blind boy who becomes a pinball champion, a culture hero and a new messiah. Townshend wavered crazily between satire, science fiction and sanctimony; Russell mocks the very seriousness of the piece itself by focusing on, then extending it. The movie is entirely sung; there is no dialogue. But there are several added narrative filling and some lavish production numbers whose very excess is their own meaning.

Russell's tone is expansive and abrasive. His maniacal invention comes to full flower like an orchid in a hothouse. When Tommy (The Who's Roger Daltrey) meets the Pinball Wizard (Elton John) in a championship match, Russell mounts it on a gilded stage before thousands of fans. The Wizard looks like a character from the other side of an electronic looking glass. Shirt full of glitter. several pairs of suspenders holding up his pants, he perches in front of his pinball machine on seven-story platform shoes, singing Pinball Wizard ("That deaf, dumb and blind kid/ Sure plays a mean pinball"). Tommy defeats him, and our last sight of the Wizard is only of his shoes, upended, borne off through the contemptuous crowd

Russell also adds a scene of sardonic electronic nightmare, and another of distinctly contemporary celebration. Tommy's mother (Ann-Margreit) watches her television set actually spew forth he waste from all its commercials. Baked beans, soapsuds, melted chocate gush like a lava flow, and, like any good contemporary consumer, she grow. En the mixture. The religious celebration is a faith healing held at the altar of a very modern gooddess, Marilyn Mon-

roe. As the crippled faithful rush to receive Communion and touch her effigy —a statue in the image of the famous skirt elevation from *The Seven-Year Itch* —Eric Clapton, in a priest's raiment, sings Evesight for the Blind.

sings Executed for the Blind. If after even such scenes as these, the movie ultimately falls, it is because the movie ultimately falls, it is because does not defeat the daffly banality of Tommy itself. Russell must have known that to mount. Tommy as a staire on its own roots, would still not increase its own roots would be a still not root would be a still not root with the still not root would be a still not root with the still not root would be a s



DALTREY AS TOMMY Liszt is next.

ingly scrofulous Oliver Reed as Tommy's stepfather, and Jack Nicholson playing a physician who represents a bit of high-class lowlife.

The success of a bit of recycled nostalgia like That's Entertainment prompted a lot of people to ask "Why don't they make good musicals any more?" Well, Tommy is one, although not at all designed to please the taste of folks who wish for the spangled gentility of the '30s and '40s. It is worth keeping in mind that a half-century from now, grandchildren will be looking at Tommy and its inevitable successors, enjoying all the extravagance and wondering about the good old days. Right now Tommy is entertainment, Tommy is the new musical, and it will stand. Jay Cocks

Ken Russell's first reaction to The Who's recording of *Tommy* was "Rubbish." But Producer Robert Stigwood,











SHOW BUSINESS

who had bought the rights to the rockpepar from Composer Pete Townshend, per the result of the result of the result of the come up with his own more satirical version of Tommy's pinball odyssey, and then there was another problem. A lower of classical music. Ken Russell Knew nothing about pop. "I didn't know who Eric Clapton or Elton John was." It was not long before Russell. 47, discovered that pop singers like Roger Daltrey were tyeecast for his sorbic style.

Because Russell hates studios, the cast and crew worked mainly on location. Several parts of England are still bruised from the encounter. In Southsea, he was filming on an old pier that caught fire. Calmly, he moved his crew ashore and kept the cameras rolling on an embarrassed fire brigade trying to put out the blaze with antiquated equipment. In Portsmouth, Russell won permission to film the Marilyn Monroe idolatry scene in the Royal Marines' chapel, but when the commandant saw the worshipers, he tried to stop the production. Russell had hired 200 handicapped extras. "They're the happiest people you could hope to meet," he explained.

"They loved being in the movie." So did Ann-Marget. "I like to be stretched," she said. "Ken not only stretched me, he put me through the wringer." Wearing a knit jumpsuit, she had to dance around a smashed "I" set the room filled up so fast I couldn't see anything. There was Ken shouting to early line, and the stretch of the company of the country of the country

Démodé Chic. The jumpsuit, like most of the clothes in Russell's movies, was designed by his wife Shirley. She also collects thrift-shop gear, and Russell pictures are immediately recognizable by their raffish, démodé chic. Aesthetics aside, this practice also keeps down wardrobe costs. "I'd heard Russell was difficult to work with, went over the budget, that kind of thing," says Producer Stigwood, "but it isn't true." Tom-my's budget of \$3.5 million was probably more money than Russell had seen in some time. His last movies, The Boy Friend, The Music Lovers and Savage Messiah, were flops for a while, Mahler had trouble finding a distributor, reportedly because of a unique piece of Russelliana: a scene showing Cosima Wagner, the master's fascist widow, goosestepping over Catholic Convert Mahler.

Tommy, which is Russell's biggest success since Women in Low. has not been touched by its distributor, Columbia Pictures. It was the most difficult movie I ever had to make," was Russell's verdict on Tommy, he prefers movies about classical composers. Tommy, however, has left its mark on Russell, however, has left its mark on Russell, cast Roger Daltrey as Franz Liszt and Ringo Start as the Pope.

All trains

The Bash

While music drowned out the rumbling of subway trains below, Tommy first-nighters celebrated the film's première by partying on the mezzanine level of Manhattan's 57th Street subway station. "I've never been so frightened in my life," said Pinball Wizard Elton John, as more than 700 guests jostled for 600 seats. The celebrators, many making their first trip into the tubes, were treated to something more than usual subway fare: 50 lbs. of octopus flown in from the Bahamas, 50 dozen oysters from Virginia, five 30-lb. lobsters from Nova Scotia, a 20-lb. Alaskan king crab, 100-lb. rounds of roast beef from Omaha and pastry fantasies as arcane as Ken Russell's own visions. By the subway entrances sat an 8-ft.-long Tommy sign fashioned from 3,000 tomatoes, radishes, cauliflowers and broccoli. "We have a little bit of everybody here," observed Acid Queen Tina Turner doubtfully, "and not everybody has soul." She spent most of the evening seated next to bugle-beaded Ann-Margret. Invitations called for "black tie or glitter funk," a dress code broad enough to bring out Pop Artist Andy Warhol ("I just wanted to see Ann-Margret"), Marion Javits, wife of Senator Jacob Javits. Actor Anthony Perkins and a sampling of transvestites, tuxedoed Hollywood agents and blue-jeaned rock freaks. The glitter blitz blared until 2 a.m., leaving Columbia Pictures with a bill of some \$35,000 for food, flowers and guards. The whole spectacle was unsettling to Tommy Composer and Who Guitarist Pete Townshend, who stood by a turnstile surveying his new underground following. Said he apprehensively: "I just hope none of 'em turn up at any Who concerts."

PARTYGOERS ELTON JOHN, TINA TURNER & PETE TOWNSHEND IN THE SUBWAY









COLUMNIST ANDERSON WITH MUCK RAKE

Show and Tell?

For months, right up to last week, William E. Colly, director of the Central Intelligence Agency, spent a good ead of his time on an unusual under-cover task. By phone calls, visits and through his emissaries, Colly made contact with a number of news organizations. His purpose: to persuade them, on national security grounds, not to print a control of the control o

a dilemma for the minesteric yetem and the gain and and the decide gain at the man and the decide gain at the man and the gain and the

Personal Piec. In the recent pass impler. Editors had few qualins about revealing CA opfew qualins about revealing CA opwave clearly light and the revealing can be a compared to the control of the

For more than a year Colby was able to keep the lid on. Seymour Hersh of the New York *Times* first heard of the salvage operation's code name. "Project Jennifer." but without details, in 1973. By early 1974, Colby knew what Hends, knew and privately cautioned the Times not to pursue the story. In September 1974, Lilyod Shearer of Parade magazine learned from a crewman on the Gibabato 1974, Lilyod Shearer of Shearer of Parade magazine learned from a crewman on the Gibabato 1974, Lilyod Shearer of Parade 1974, Lilyod Shearer commonths later reached Shearer commonths later reached Shearer commonths after reached Shearer commonths after presented the basic facts and persuaded reprofit the sub might yield some "ultra-secret" Soviet coding equipment.

By midwinter, however, a number of other news organizations were on to the story. On February 8, the first edition of the Los Angeles Times carried a front-page article on the Jennifer mission, but it was incomplete and garbled the details (e.g., the paper placed the submarine in the Atlantic, not the Pa

THE NEW YORK TIMES'S SEYMOUR HERSH Taking off the hair shirt.

cific). A CIA official was quickly on the telephone to L.A. Times Editor William Thomas. Unable to get the story killed, he managed to talk Thomas into burying it on page 18 in later editions. Later Colby briefed Thomas, and, says the editor, "publication would have had some negative results." Shortly afterward, TIME learned about the story, but at Colby's personally telephoned request, decided not to run it because of the CIA's claim that it was a legitimate project involving national security. The Washington Post, NBC, ABC, Newsweek and the Washington Star all got wind of the project. In each case, after a call or visit from Colby there was a decision not to go ahead. Last week, however, Jack Anderson, claiming that an

A.C.L.U. lawyer was about to break the secret, revealed on his radio broadcast the outlines of the salvage effort. At that point the New York *Times* ran a readyto-go story by Hersh, devoting a full page to his reportorial details.

Was it right for the Times to rush the revelations into print? Times Managing Editor A.M. Rosenthal, who had originally postponed the story at Colby's request, had been willing to hold off until the mission was completed or called off, or until its cover was blown. Said Rosenthal: "The advantages of immediate publication did not outweigh the considerations of disclosing an ongoing military operation." But after Anderson's broadcast, he felt that the issue of publication was academic. "In future cases," says Rosenthal, "it's impossible to say how I would act. My answer is: show me the case, let me read the story. and then I'll come to a decision.

To some, like former California Governor Ronald Reagan, CIA operations are inviolate. Last week Reagan excoriated the press for being irresponsible in its revelation of the CIA oneration. But most newsmen side with the Rosenthal "case by case" approach. Explains Benjamin C. Bradlee, executive editor of the Washington Post: "When you have these decisions. you have a balance. On the one side, there's a claim by a government of some standing that what you're about to print will harm the country's security. And on the other side you have the conviction that you're being conned." The burden, in short, is on the editors to make up their minds in each instance

Watchful Press. George E. Reedy Jr., the onetime press secretary to Lyndon Johnson and now dean of Marquette University's College of Journalism, does not accept so balanced a view. Says he: "I don't think newspa-

pers should be in the business of deciding what should or shouldn't be in the national interest. They should print the news. If every newspaper decided what is or is not in the national interest, you soon wouldn't have any newspapers, you'd just have Government propaganda sheets." Jack Anderson, in his turn, claims that since Watergate, "a lot of editors and reporters are wearing a hair shirt, trying to prove too hard how patriotic and responsible we are. The country was better served by a watchful press. Adds Columnist Tom Wicker of the New York Times, who criticized his own paper's restraint: "It is hard to see how a news organization-let alone so many -could have thought such a story ought to be withheld."

There seems little doubt that certain CIA and other Government secrets can be violated only at peril to the nation. Some projects, notably the CIA's 1961 Bay of Pigs invasion, may well need what Justice Louis Brandels called "the disinfectant" of public exposure. But in the case of Project Jennifer, given what editors knew at the time, they were right to use restraints.

Reunion in Retreat

The startling pullout by South Viennames tropps from the northern provinces and the Central Highlands took the world by surprise, and foreign journalists stationed in the country were no exception. Actually, President Nguyen Van Thieu acted with such secrecy that even his Joint General Staff did not know of his decision to abandon the provinces until they read about it was a contract of the provinces with they read about it was not preprinted. Staff they are also the provinces with they read about it was not preprinted to the province of the province with the province of the province

In Saigon, when the big retreat began, almost all U.S. news bureaus were shorthanded, as they had been ever since the 1972-73 U.S. troop evacuation. In many cases there was only a lone correspondent in the capital. Moving fast to help cover the refugees and troops streaming south, the American press jetted in reinforcements from everywhere. The Chicago Tribune switched its Far Fastern correspondent, Ronald Yates, from Phnom-Penh to Saigon within 24 hours of the news of the retreat; the New York Times moved in Pulitzer Prizewinner Malcolm Browne from Belgrade, Bernard Weinraub from India and Fox Butterfield from Tokyo; TIME dispatched William McWhirter from London and Tokyo Bureau Chief William Stewart: ABC pitched in with twelve fulltime personnel.

Studiously Indifferent. Even the routes of retreat, moving around and getting word back were problems for the newsmen. In palmier days American troops had provided helicopters, telephone links and logistical support. Now the South Vietnamese army ran the show, and it was studiously indifferent. When some commercial flights within the country were suspended, newsmen had been to be considered to the country were suspended. Newsmen had been to the country were suspended. Newsmen had been considered to the country were suspended. Newsmen had been considered to the country were suspended. Newsmen had been considered to the country were suspended. Newsmen had been considered to the country were suspended to the country with the country were successful to the country with the country were considered to the country were considered to the country with the country were supported to the country were supported to the country with the country were supported to the country with the country were considered to the country were considered to the country with the country were considered to the country were considered to the country with the country were considered to the country with the country were considered to the country were considered

However, in the confusion there was, suprisingly, no censorship or haras-ment of reporters by the Thieu regime—at least for the moment. Such the moment of the confusion of the confusion of the confusion of the confusion of the possibility that the Information Ministry might not remain a confusion of the possibility that the Information Ministry might not remain avoid the confusion of the confus

Haunted House

ALL GOD'S CHILLUN GOT WINGS by EUGENE O'NEILL

T.S. Eliot once wrote a review of the printed text of All God's Chillium Gor Hvings. He observed, "Mr. O'Neill not only understands one aspect of the 'Negro problem,' but he succeeds in giving this problem universality—in in fact, the universal problem of differences which create a mixture of admiration, love and contempt, with the consequent tension."

The trouble with the revival at Manhattan's Circle in the Square/Joseph E. Levine Theater is that it lacks that larger tension. One suspects that the drama has been revived for its presumed topicality and that the audience is supposed to generate strong emotions that scarcely exist in O'Neill's dead-battery prose.

Jim (Robert Christian), a black, and Ella (Trish Van Devere), a white, had been childhood playmates. Growing up, she marries a boxer who deserts her. Despite her aversion to blacks, Ella then marries Jim. However, the stress of social ostracism drives her insane, and she which he does With his dream shattered, Jim reverts to a kind of devoted slave to a spectral child bride.

In giving Jim and Ella his real parents' names, O'Neill clearly showed that he felt a parallel to his mother's drug addiction and its role in stunting his father's capacity to become a great actor. Blacks, in this play, are not so much a race as a symbol for what O'Neill's mother regarded as the dark, tormenting world of the stage.

Van Devere is not ready to project that torment, and Christian fares no better. Nor has Director George C. Scott. Van Devere's husband, been able to elicit from the rest of the cast that sense of transcendence through suffering by which alone O'Neill's lesser texts can be salvaged.

Iron Thane

MACBETH

by WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

Macbeth articulates a gangrenous would where leadership is a pretext for ambition and power an end in itself. It is all there in the text, but too often the hysterical wife and the weird sister upstage the man's essential corruption and Macbeth turns into the lady's play.

The energetic Scotsman Nicol Wil-

The energetic Scotsman Nicol Williamson has swung a deadly claymore at this flawed reading. At the Royal Shakespeare Company's Aldwych Theater in London, he portrays Macbeth as an anti-hero of feral self-knowledge and focuses on the play's real theme: the psy-

chological disintegration of a man who would be king but discovers that as a murderer he can only be a tyrant. When Williamson and Director Trevor Nunn did their first version at Stratford last year it was encrusted with hoodoo gimmickry and medieval fattalism. Now they have cut to the quick.

Race to Doom. Wearing spurred boots, Jodhpurs and black military tunics, Williamson and a cast of toughs speak in Lowland Scots to accent the masculine hardness of Shakespeare's verse. The wide of Shakespeare's verse. The wide of the state of the state verse. The wide of the state of the state state of the state of the state of the state beth a potion distilled from the slops of its own ambition. Helen Mirren's Lady Macbeth is a useful foil: an oversexed and understatisfied vixen in form-fitting

But Williamson's performance provides the chief engine of the play's race to doom (two hours without an intermission). Swordplay and stage business have been slashed and ghosts reduced to the actors' imaginations, all to emphasize verse. Williamson speaks with a strangled intensity that shows a man totally aware of what he is doing yet too weak to stop. The key to his projection lies in his iron control over the poetic rhythms. He instructs Banquo's murderers with a flat naturalism that echoes the White House tapes, then whiningly rationalizes his supposed invincibility while twiddling a now useless dagger. As the armies close in, he crouches fetus-like at the foot of his throne and, in choked pauses, speaks the play's final nihilistic soliloquy.

Laurence Olivier once summed up the play. "The man knows everything, the woman nothing." Williamson demonstrates, step by bloody step, how Macbeth comes by his awild knowledge. **Lowrence Malkin

WILLIAMSON IN MACBETH





The tiny craft had been in space for formnits and was nearly out of steering fuel. Yet flight controllers at Pasadena's Jet Propulsion Laboratory last subsequence of the propulsion Laboratory last subsequence of the propulsion Laboratory last subsequence of the propulsion Laboratory and propulsion of the propulsion o

Close Look. The four-hour flyby was an unexpected bonus at the end of an already successful \$100 million mission. Three months after its launch in November 1973, Mariner 10 passed Venus and took the first closeup pictures of the cloud-shrouded planet. Then, slowed by Venusian gravity, it plunged toward the sun, approaching Mercury in March and again in September 1974 On those flybys, Mariner got the first close look at the planet and detected a weak magnetic field that some scientists thought might be caused by Mercury's interaction with the solar wind, a stream of charged particles from the sun

Last week Marinormannin.

Last week Marinormannin

Marcury's field was distinctly its own. Scientists believe that the

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PALL MALL EXTRA MILD "tar" 10 mg.—nicotine, 0.7 mg. Best-selling filter king ..."tar" 19 mg.—nicotine, 1.3 mg. Of all brands, lowest"tar" 2 mg.—nicotine, 0.2 mg.

Warning: The Surgeon General Has Determined That Cigarette Smoking Is Dangerous to Your Health.

10 mg. "tar", 0.7 mg. nicotine av. per cigarette, FTC Report Oct. 74.

For Joel Sartorius, higher education included the roof of San Marco.

That's Joel in the middle.

And that's the roof of San Marco cathedral he's standing on, high above the canals and gondolas of Venice.

Last year Joel went to Italy to study its art, as one of 59 young men and women on ITI International Fellowships.

Like Joel, about half of the ITT Fellows were Americans studying abroad. The others were foreign students in America. All were graduates, their sights already firmly fixed on careers.

In Joel's case, it's a career in teaching. And what he learned about Italy and its people

should be a big help to him as a teacher.

The people he met learned something about

him, too.
And about us Americans.

And that opportunity for mutual understanding—as much as any scholastic goals is what these ITT Fellowships are all about.

They not only teach people for a career, they teach people about people.

The best ideas are the ideas that help people.



international Telephone and Telegraph Corporation, 320 Park Avenue, New York, N.Y. 1

Fields of Energy

'One might ask," the catalogue begins with unwonted nervousness, "why look at Monet again?" Indeed, no artists have been more exposed than the impressionists; but the day when Claude Monet, their leader, could become a bore is (happily) not yet. Apart from the delectability of his work, it becomes increasingly clear that Monet, whose painting life began in the 1860s and spanned almost 70 years, was as fundamental to 20th century art as Cézanne. Bonnard, Pollock and Rothko. not to mention every color-field painter who came out of an art school, lie cradled in Monet's woven strands of pure color. Consequently the Art Institute of Chicago's Monet retrospective of more than 120 paintings, which opened last

Isle in the 1880s to the blue watery cathedrals he made from his lily pond at Giverny, Monet constantly reworked his paintings in the studio. "Whether my cathedrals, my Londons and other paintings were made from nature or not is nobody's business and is not important. he wrote to his dealer

In his youth, the effort to reconcile the truth of outdoor painting with his ambition to make "important pictures on a Salon scale bore odd results, one of which is Women in the Garden. He set up this vast canvas (over 8 ft. high) in his garden and even had a trench dug to rest it in so that he could paint the top without having to teeter on a stool. Its tonal contrasts between the green gloom of the trees and the crisp white of the girls' dresses in the bleaching sun are a manifesto of early impressionism.

from nature," the lesson went, "are worth more than two days' work at the easel." One can see the grasp growing in works like The Artist's Garden at Argenteuil, where the flecked commotion of pink flowers, the blue flowerpots and the green foliage are rescued from incoherence by one bold device: a broad field of lavender-gray shadow thrown across the terrace. We recognize the Argenteuil paintings as substance: they be-

long to a realist tradition. But within 15 years this had changed. The high pink-blue landscapes he made in 1884 at Bordighera on the Mediterranean are not about realist vision; no stretch of the imagination can turn these twisting, mistral-filled brush strokes into an optical fact. For by now Monet had found the theme of his next 40 years: not how to depict things, but how to manifest them as part of a field of energy. In late Monet, as the surrealist painter André Masson observed, there are no solids and voids. Everything is full. A branch moves and pushes at the air with its mop of leaves; the air, a dense fluid of light, responds elastically: eddies form in this continuum of brightness, and the movement of Monet's brush reveals their presence the way an oar, dipped in a pond, reveals the wa-"A landscape, for me, does not exist at all as such," he said of his Haystack series, "because the aspect changes at every moment, but it lives through its surroundings by the light and air which vary continually." If nature was not eloquent enough, she could be cajoled: Monet planted blue flowers under the trees in his tangled garden at Giverney, to make the shadows bluer

Perfect Crust. The final result was the series of more than 200 paintings known as the Waterlilies. They resolve a problem that, before Monet, must have seemed self-contradictory: How can monumental art be made out of impermanence? It is surface about surface: horizontal sheets of water fixed in vast crusts of paint, then hung vertically on a wall. Apart from the lily pads themselves, there are no objects. Nor is there depth: we know how long a courtyard in a Renaissance painting is, but nobody could guess how far Monet's pool extends or how many feet of water lie in it. What happens on that surface is either ghostly (the reflected passage of a cloud) or abstract, the twining and piling of brush strokes. The Waterlilies are among the most challenging and aesthetically perfect paintings of the 20th century. Though they were almost ignored when the two rooms dedicated to them opened at the Orangerie in 1925, they have since become to modern art almost what the Sistine Chapel was to 16th century painting: an inexhaustible



Whether he painted from nature was nobody's business.

week, is an event of real importance: the man has never been better represented in the U.S.

Monet wanted people to believe and how successfully he made them believe it!-that he painted everything in the open air, in the flush and excitement of confronting his subjects. He would even speak of his two years' military service with the Algerian cavalry in 1860-61 as though they were nothing but art training: "You can't imagine how much I learned in this way, how well it trained my eye." In fact, as Art Historian Grace Seiberling points out in her excellent catalogue essay. Monet both cultivated and violated the myth of impressionism. From the garden scenes at Argenteuil in the 1870s, through the cliffs and seascapes of Étretat and BelleYet each of the women is really his wife Camille in a different pose. Hence the picture's odd disunity: it is a composite. not a "scene." Besides, there are historical quotes: so intent was Monet on this modern fête champêtre that he turned the Camille in the beige dress with vertical buttons into a parody, conscious or not, of Watteau's clown Gilles

Open Air. What closed this gap and enabled Monet to be the artist he became was his discovery of a kind of notation that transcended the "normal" processes of seeing. Decades of practice in the open air, fixing on the tiniest and most fugitive effects of light and color. gave his eye an immense confidence. As a young caricaturist in Le Havre, he met the seascape painter Eugène Boudin: he was 17. Boudin 34. "Three brush strokes

Robert Hughes

seriousness



"Women in the Garden," 1866-67



"Two Haystacks," 1891



Learning Less

Are U.S. public school students earning less now than they did a deceade or even a few years ago? According to the newly published results of three separate, national tests, the answer seems to be yes.

The strongest evidence for the decline in classroom learning comes from the annual Scholastic Aptitude Tests, which most college admissions offices use to judge applicants. SAT scores have been falling every year since 1962, and the new figures—based on last year's tests taken by 1 million high school students—show that the treal is continuing the start of the start of the start of the test and from 478 to 440 on the verbal test and from 502 to 478 on 502 to 478 on the mathematics test. Highest possible score 800.

A Reol Drop. After analyzing the latest results, Sam McCandless, director of admissions testing for the College Entrance Examination Board, says the decline is "real." He insists that previous rationalizations—lower scores might be caused by technical changes in the SATs or by greater numbers of poor and minority students taking the tests—do not hold up. The reason for the drop, says McCandless: a decline in students' "develoced reasoning ability."

some education and the Some education and the Some education as a syst Saland 4-demissions Dean Fred Harpadon: "This the generation of students affected into the production." But at least some of the responsibility for the lower scores must be placed on the schools themselves. "There is no question that there is less emphasis on language skills in elementary and secondary schools," says Princeton Admissions Director Timothy Calliner, and secondary schools, says Princeton Admissions Director and the schools of t

Helping to confirm the general downward trend in learning, he National Assessment of Educational Progenization reported last week that students knew less about science in 1973 than they did three years earlier. The test which covered 90,000 students in elementary and junior and the control of the control

The results of the third study, sponsored by the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare and announced last week, showed that public school students' reading levels have been falling since the mid-1960s. Whatever the cause, it is clear from all three studies that the cure lies in the classroom.



STUDENT (LEFT) USING DRILL IN "SELF-CONFIDENT HOME MECHANIC" COURSE

Womanschool

The curriculum is unpretentious but practical. It includes courses on such subjects as how to fix a faucet, prepare a tax return or get a better job. The teachers seem eminently well qualified. Heidi Fiske, vice president of Institutional Investors Systems, presides over a course entitled "How to Leverage Your Talents into Working for Yourself or Starting Your Own Small Business"; Lynn Caine, who wrote the bestselling autobiographical Widow, teaches "The Widow." All this and more is available at Womanschool, a newly opened institution designed to teach women how to cope in a male-dominated society

Established in classrooms rented from Manhattan's tony Finch College. Womanschool is the invention of petite, intense Elaine First Sharpe, 38, an assistant professor of English at coeducational Jersey City State College. After eleven years at Jersey, Sharpe decided that many women lack self-confidence. They don't like themselves," she says. What they need to boost their self-esteem, she feels, is to learn more skills. With her husband Donald, 40, an associate law professor at Fordham, she took a small ad in the New York Times last year to recruit female teachers for an informal school that would "offer women options." They had planned to hold classes in friends' living rooms, but when the ad drew more than 400 enthusiastic responses, the Sharpes realized that they had to raise their sights and promptly began making plans for a larger institution. Womanschool now has 24 courses, 30 faculty members, and an overflow enrollment of 500 students.

One of the most popular courses is The Self-Confident Home Mechanic. designed to teach students how to repair light switches, calk pipes and fix appliances. One student, Blossom Gottlieb, 26, is taking the course so she and her husband can renovate their hot-dog stand in the seashore community of Cape May, N.J. Her mother-in-law Virginia, 60, is also enrolled because she rents out two summer cottages there. "It's impossible to get a plumber on July 4." she explains, "and the toilets are always stopped up on holidays." Another student, Pat Ortiz, enrolled because she has knocked seven holes in her bedroom wall trying to put up shelves. "I'm all thumbs, and my husband is all feet," she says. In the next classroom, about 50 women taking "Mastering the Art of Investing" are studying the intricacies of Treasury notes, municipal bonds and mutual funds. In "Being and Becoming Single," a class of 15 women talk about living by themselves. Teacher Betty Kronsky, a therapist, has handed out assigned reading "because I want them to take away something concrete.

Not Accredited. Womanschool is 500 for the time of Tution is 500 for the time of Tution is 500 for the time of tim

MONEY

Adding Up the Bill from OPEC Oil

Ever since the Organization of Pericolum Exporting Countries quintupled the price of oil, economists and bankers have expected the U.S. balance of payhave expected the U.S. balance of payhave desired the U.S. balance of payticological payers of the Countries of the have drained increasingly large promets deficis since early last year. All the same, last week's report of a rocyation of the financial hemorrhaging that year of the financial hemorrhaging that has the U.S. and of the financial hemorrhaging that has the U.S. and or or the bosted prices.

The \$5.87 billion fourth-quarter deficit, which was more than \$0% higher than the third-quarter shortfall, brought to \$10.58 billion the total gap for all of 1974.* There were several reasons: U.S. direct investment abroad rose because

"This "basic" payments deficit—the most closely watched indicator of international payment trends reflects most trade and investment but excludes very short-term flows of "hot money." restrictions on them were dropped, and foreign purchases of U.S. atocks fell because of the bear market. But, worst of all, the Commerce Department's statistics underscored the fact that the match of the bear bear with the statistics underscored the fact that the match of bill for petroleum imports soared by \$18 billion last year. This more than offset exports of soybeans, jet planes, offset petroleum important other products, and Jed of the products and Jed of the products of t

Irksome Dilemme. The huge shortfall was aggravated by the global recession, which slowed the growth of world trade. Some economists argue that the numbers are no cause for alarm, the numbers are no cause for alarm, once foreign capital when its amount of perks up. Nonetheless, the nagging. \$10perks up. Nonetheless, the nagging. \$10per-bbl. question remains: How fast can an economy recover when it is forced to send abread a large share of its in-

For U.S. policymakers, the pay-

ments deficit pointed up one especially irksome aspect of this dilemma. Low interest rates—along with a bigger money supply and a tax cut-are needed to spur business and consumer spending and help put the jobless back to work. Yet the same low rates that speed recovery also drive money out of the country, aggravating the payments deficit and eroding confidence in the dollar. In large part because interest rates in the U.S. are lower than in Europe. the dollar lately has been depressed on world markets, and it remains undervalued. Observed Salomon Bros.' Henry Kaufman, a leading Wall Street economist: "If the dollar continues to weaken, we may be forced to reintroduce currency restrictions such as the Interest Equalization Tax, or perhaps some other measures.

There are unmistakable signs that, confronted with a hard choice, the U.S. is opting to stimulate the domestic econ-

RECESSION NOTES

Some of last week's visible and all too human consequences of slumping business and soaring prices:

Deedbeets. BankAmericard and Mareter Charge report that the number of the impuent accounts has risen to more than 15% of their membership totals, up almost a percentage point from a year ago. Thus member banks are reviewing applications more closely before issuing across and making more use of bounty cards and making more used to bound a contract and account and the contract and the c

the past six months. Says President Joseph C. Stewart Jr.: "Some accounts are \$15,000 in arrears, and they are driving us wild trying to catch them."

Dog Duys. The recession is changing preferences in pets. Registration of pedigreed dogs has dropped off from last year. Jeanne Tanenbaum, an executive of the Humane Society of New York. reports that more owners of large dogs are giving them over to pounds, giving them over to pounds or simply turning them loose because they cost too much to feed. Fortunately, adoptions of dogs and cats at pounds of dogs and cats at pounds.

are running well ahead of last year. Mutts, of course, are cheaper than pedigree pets.

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ple. Regular workers moonlight as parttime chanfflers; they get free rides, collect whatever profits remain after expenses are made can use the waste during off hours and can use the waste during off hours and can use the waste about \$8.5 for 7%; he waste of the probabot \$8.5 for 7%; he waste of the promile, which is so much cheap 2.5 kp per mile, which is so much cheap 2.5 kp per mile, which is so much cheap can male which is so much cheap can male axings at \$1,000 and more stimute annual savings at \$1,000 and more

Burning Issue. Arson often increases during economic slumps, but insurance men say that the problem has never been as bad as it is now. The Fireman's Fund. a San Francisco-based insurer, reports that about 20% of the fires in stores and





COMPANY BUS IN

ECONOMY & BUSINESS

omy, by reducing interest rates, instead of protecting the dollar in foreign money markets. New figures confirm that the money supply is being substantially expanded. Few bankers and economists are ready to predict that Federal Reserve policy will shift any time soon evand stiffer interest rates, even though an important constraint on U.S. monetary policy.

Competing for Cash. A growing number of corporations are betting, however, that interest rates may decline very little further. Corporate borrowers rushed to Wall Street in March with nearly \$5 billion in bond offerings, a record for a single month. Last week, in history's largest fixed-income offering by a manufacturer, General Motors managed to raise almost \$600 million. It did so even though the U.S. Treasury was also floating \$1.25 billion of its own bonds, which caused furious bidding, broad fluctuations in prices and many worries over whether all the money could be raised. The turbulent week in the bond market seemed a portent of further wild trading in the months ahead, when industry will be competing with Government for avail-

The 1974 payments deficit, too, pointed up the need for cooperation among oil-consuming nations in finding ways to loosen over Strangelhold on was reason for hope last week. Meeting in Paris to lay the groundwork for pre-limitary talks with the petroleum-producing states, the Broom of the Company and the producing states, the IS of the largest oil-importing nations, agreed on a plan to safeguard investments in alternative energy sources. One of its min features, a sex for oil imports.

Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and insisted on such an agreement before the U.S. would participate in a summit meeting between oil producers and oil consumers. At week's end it seemed certain that the U.S. would decide to join in preliminary negotiations with the producers of the present of the producers of



other commercial establishments are believed to be set by desperate proprietors. In normal times, only 5% of the commercial fires are suspicious. There has also been a surge in fires in mobile homes as more and more owners fall behind in their installment payments.

Old Muse. Several cities are raising the curtain on a modern form of the Federal Theater Project, which at its height under the WPA in the 1930s employed 12,000 out-of-work actors, directors, playwrights and other stage artists, including Clifford Odets, Orson Welles, Harold Clurman and Elia Kazan. The present efforts are also federally

financed, under the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act. In Los Angeles, 71 unemployed artists will be organized into acting, dancing and puppeteering troupes, which will lour the city's parks, schools and centers for the aged. In San Francisco, 113 jobs have been created for actors, dancers and painters. The Seattle Arts Commission will provide 60 part-time jobs, including one for a sculptor, and another for a film maker to document the city's history.

Less Goodwill. Through the Salvation Army and Goodwill Industries of America, the employed majority can help the unemployed minority by donating old

clothes, furniture and appliances. It might seem that during hard times the generosity of the gratefully still-at-work would increase, but lately donations have dropped sharply. Says Tom Brenker, a Goodwill executive in New York City: People are more careful. What they used last year can help them keep going a while longer." In Cleveland, Robert B. Aylsworth, a Goodwill officer, notes: "Our collections are down 50% since last September, and our stores are running out of merchandise." As a result. 100 employees of that city's Goodwill Industries -most of whom are physically handicapped-have been cut back from five-day to four-day working weeks. Major Frederick Clarke of the Cleveland Salvation Army reports that donations are down 20%-25%.

Tougher Tax Audits. The recession will make taxes tougher to pay—and in Goorgia, at least, harder to evade. Because revenues are faling short of proceases revenues are faling short of prolemant to the state of the capture rate of 12 can be made and the state of the capture rate of 12 indicates the state of the capture rate of 12 indicates of the state of the stat

Executive Aid. Directors of Celanese Corp., the fibers and petrochemicals giant, proposed to stockholders that the company lend its top officers some \$3.5 million at a rock-bottom 6% interest, with as many as ten years to repay. Reason: enticed by seemingly attractive as much as \$79.50, executives borrowed heavily to buy. With the stock now down to \$30.50, the executives are having great trouble renewing their bank loans Celanese reported that the loans would be "part of our total executive compensation." The proposals will be voted on at the company's annual meeting April 9, and chances are that many shareholders may howl.



POLICYMAKERS

Simon: Lonely Voice, Less Influence

"History is littered with the wreckage of governments that could not deal adequately with inflation-and I will also suggest that history is littered with the wreckage of finance ministers who spoke the way I am speaking right now.

-Secretary of the Treasury William Simon

The Cassandra tone typifies Simon's current role-and his questionable future in Government. Once supremely confident of his ability to deal with what he called the nation's "infinitely solvable" economic problems, he now sees himself as the sound-money "conscience" of the Government, repeating dire warnings that he knows few politicians want to hear. To a nation fright-

TREASURY SECRETARY TESTIFYING LAST WEEK The dangers of overstimulation.

ened by the deepest recession and highest unemployment since before Pearl Harbor, Simon insists that inflation is the greater long-run peril. To a Congress bent on cutting taxes and raising spending far more than the Administration wants, Simon endlessly preaches the dangers of overstimulation. His gloom seems excessive, but he is making some points worth heeding

Advocating Slack. Last week, for example, Simon told Congress that its tax and spending policies will lead to a budget deficit of \$80 billion in the fiscal year that begins in July, v. the \$55.5 billion projected by the Office of Management and Budget. That is a real and worrisome possibility, but Simon's warning would carry more force if he had shown a keener and earlier appreciation of the need for vigorous action to pull the nation out of recession. Instead, Simon has insisted that "some margin of economic slack must remain for a period of years to ensure that inflation can be squeezed out gradually.

This line is seriously eroding Simon's influence in Congress. A year ago, when he was the nation's energy czar, even liberal Democrats viewed him as a pragmatic problem solver. Now many consider him a rigid conservative ideologue. Within the Administration, Simon's hard-driving ways and disregard of bureaucratic protocol have always made him more enemies than friends. In recent policy debates he has pushed his views too stridently, and his clout is visibly diminishing.

On economic and energy policy, President Ford listens more these days to other counselors: Economic Adviser Alan Greenspan, Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and Energy Administrator Frank Zarb. Simon's role can only

be further reduced by the arrival in Washington of Harvard Professor John T. Dunlop, who took over last week as Secretary of Labor. Dunlop, who will have a major voice in policy, leans far more to Government intervention in the economy than does Simon.

A few weeks ago, President Ford pointedly contradicted Simon on a significant issue. Simon had declared that Kissinger's proposal to put a floor under oil prices, so that developers of alternate energy sources could be sure that their prices would not be undercut, was not Administration policy. Ford then had Press Secretary Ron Nessen declare that it was indeed his policy. Since then, Simon's

confidence, in his influence if not his beliefs, has seemed shaken. Once fiercely independent, he now takes care to go over proposed congressional testimony with White House aides. Many in the Administration doubt that Simon will still be around next January

He had come in with a towering reputation that he acquired almost overnight. A millionaire Wall Street bond trader for the firm of Salomon Bros., Simon entered Government in December 1972 as Treasury's No. 2 man. At the height of the Arab oil embargo in December 1973, President Nixon named him to create the Federal Energy Office. Simon snapped out quick and crisp decisions on allocations, conservation measures and prices. There were some foul-ups, but Simon by sheer force of personality convinced Washington that someone had taken charge of what had been a confused energy policy

As Secretary of the Treasury for the past eleven months, though, Simon has lacked the measured approach that the

job demands. He is a quick thinker with an impressive grasp of numbers, but some associates believe that he skims too lightly over issues. Says one colleague: He tends to be emotional, a fighter. In debate he won't give an inch.

Simon's difficulties have been increased by some faulty predictions and policy misjudgments. He returned from a Middle East trip last summer predicting that an oil auction by Saudi Arabia would break petroleum prices; high Saudi officials had told Simon that those events would take place and he believed them. At home Simon preached "the oldtime religion" of tight money and budget cutting to fight inflation. Last summer he opposed any substantial easing of the Federal Reserve's strangling credit squeeze and listed for President Ford possible spending cuts totaling \$20 billion or more (Simon said they were intended for "illustrative purposes").

Simon's influence was obvious in Ford's October WIN program, which called for more than \$5 billion in spending cuts and a 5% tax increase for middle- and upper-income individuals. Even then the economy was sliding into deep recession, but Simon clung to the program. Shortly before the November elections he vowed that "we've just begun to fight" for the tax boost.

Love-Hate Affair. In retrospect, that was exactly the wrong program. An easing in monetary policy, a moderate tax cut and some loosening of spending last year might have prevented the recessionary tailspin from gathering momentum. Those measures might have averted the pressure for massive stimulus now and could have held down the budget deficit, which is ballooning largely because of falling tax revenues and rising spending for unemployment compensation and other income-support programs. When Ford reversed policy and advocated a \$16.5 billion net tax cut, Simon grudgingly went along, and he is now concentrating his efforts on containing the budgetary damage

He deeply believes that Government should reduce its role in the economy. But to bring that about he advocates "a massive tax cut and a massive budget cut"-a foredoomed combination. think the direction our country is heading in is a very dangerous one, as regards our traditional system of Government, our economic system," he told TIME Economic Correspondent John Berry "Neither man nor Government can continue for a sustained period of time to spend more than he receives.

Simon's great fear is that recession fighters will yield to inflationary seduction. Says he: "We have a love-hate relationship with inflation. We hate inflation, but we love everything that causes it. We have always erred on the side of overstimulation." Reigniting inflation by pumping too much money into the economy, Simon warns, is not even sound anti-recession strategy: "It was the high rates of inflation that were a

major factor in our recession today. It was the double-digit inflation that created the instability that drove our housing into the worst tailspin since the second World War. It was double-digit inflation that frightened and confused the consumer, that caused the erosion of real wages, that caused the sharp drop in consumer spending.

Though Simon's argument seems overstated, his warnings cannot be lightly dismissed. The economy probably both needs and can afford more stimulus than he wants, especially since inflation seems to be subsiding. But there really is a danger that Congress will take a "too much too late" approach to the recession and legislate permanent spending programs that will prove inflationary when recovery begins. In addition, Simon is undoubtedly correct in maintaining that runaway inflation eventually causes recession. If Congress ignores Cassandra Simon, it runs a risk of proving him at least partially right.

FARMS

Away From Freedom

One of the few domestic economic accomplishments of the Nixon Administration was to maneuver through Congress a 1973 law that dismantled most of the creaky, and costly, machinery of farm price supports and acreage allotments. Farm prices have shot up in a relatively free market for most of the past two years. Now, however, some of those prices are declining again, bringing to consumers a taste of sorely needed relief in food prices (TIME, March 24). Unfortunately, this renewed demonstration that free prices go down as well as up has sparked a powerful movement in Congress to bring back the Government's heavy hand in agriculture.

Last week the House passed, 259 to 162, an "emergency" farm bill that is certain to clear the Senate. The bill would

1) Raise "target prices" of basic commodities. If market prices fall below the targets, the Government will send the farmer a check for the difference. The targets since 1973 have replaced the old-style support prices, under which the Government actually bought up the commodities and stockpiled them. The new target price would be increased as follows: on wheat from \$2.05 per bu. to \$3.10; on corn from \$1.38 per bu. to \$2.25; on cotton from 38e per lb. to 45e.

2) Increase the support price for milk, one of the few products still under old-fashioned supports, from 75% to 80% of so-called parity.

3) Boost the amount of the loans that the Government can make to wheat, corn and cotton raisers who hold their crops off the market while waiting for higher prices and extend the term of the loans to 18 months from the present twelve.





MAKE TH

CAIN'T AFFORD

EVEN LI'L ABNER THIS WEEK SHOWS SYMPATHY FOR THE FARMER

That may be only the start of congressional efforts to aid the farmer at the expense of other consumers and taxpayers. Says New York Republican Peter Peyser: "I think there have also been some commitments made on rice and peanuts. The next thing that is going to come up is some direct subsidies for the cattle producer.

The increase in milk supports would raise consumer prices by 6¢ per gal. on milk and 15¢ per lb. on butter, the Department of Agriculture estimates. The rise in target prices on cotton would immediately start Government payments flowing to farmers because the new target price would be above the present market level of about 40¢ per lb. The rise could also cause some farmers who had been diverting land from cotton to soybeans to switch back again, thereby shrinking soybean supplies and possibly raising prices of the beans and also of cattle and hogs that are fed on them.

Don Paarlberg, chief economist of the Department of Agriculture, figures that the bill would raise retail food costs this year by anywhere from \$500 million to \$1.2 billion. By the 1977-78 crop year, he estimates, extra payments to farmers under the new bill could cost the taxpayers as much as \$7 billion

Supporters claim that the bill is necessary to keep farmers from suffering losses because their production costs are rising while market prices are dropping. But there are huge holes in this logic First, it is questionable whether the Government has an obligation to ensure farmers-or any group in society against losing money. Second, the farmers are doing well. Their net income rocketed from \$17.5 billion in 1972 to \$32 billion in 1973. It fell back to \$27 billion last year, but the situation hardly seems an emergency. In farm families the disposable personal income per capita last year was \$4,577, almost exactly as much as for nonfarm families. Livestock raisers, it is true, are hurting-but that is because prices of soybeans and other feeds are high.

Political Skill. The House passage of the bill illustrates the political skill of the farm bloc. Many liberal urban Democrats were won over by farm-bloc promises of votes for measures that the city Democrats want, including food stamps for striking workers. The urban representatives were also persuaded by an argument that a heavy Democratic vote for the bill would pull rural voters away from the Republican Party and reforge the old Roosevelt coalition of farmers and city workers.

Even so, the bill did not win enough votes to override a presidential veto, which Agriculture Secretary Earl Butz said he will recommend. Butz usually supports any measure that will raise farmers' income, whatever it might do to other consumers, but he argues forcefully that the "emergency" bill would take farmers a long way back toward working for a Government check rather than for the consumer market.

FEEDING CHOPPED-CORN SILAGE TO BEEF CATTLE NEAR TOPEKA, KANS



Cough Up, Comrades

Hungary's Communist Chief Janos Kádár had just begun the keynote speech at the party congress in Budapest last week when he turned to the guest of honor and expressed his "sin-cere thanks" for the Soviet Union's "readiness to help" Hungary in its serious economic plight. It was an ironic gesture. Kádár was expressing gratitude to Soviet Party Chief Leonid Brezhnev for extending a loan of perhaps \$40 million that Hungary urgently needs-to meet the newly increased price of Soviet oil and gas

Bargain's End. Like the other Eastern European members of Comecon. Hungary is reeling under the impact of the sudden 130% rise. Except for Rumania, which has its own oilfields, the Eastern bloc depends almost entirely on Soviet energy supplies, and it had been getting a bargain. Though the world price of oil quintupled to more than \$10 per bbl., the Soviet Union continued to sell to its allies at \$3 per bbl. Since Comecon prices are adjusted only once every five years, Eastern European leaders believed they would enjoy that deal, at least

They were wrong. In raising the perbarrel price to \$6.90 in January, the Soviets placed self-interest above one of Communism's cherished tenets: social priorities, not market forces, should determine prices. Though the Soviet Union is the world's leading oil producer (averaging 9 million bbl. per day last year. v. 8.5 million for Saudi Arabia), domestic and Eastern European demand will outstrip output by 1980. The Soviet Union and its Comecon partners are already importing small quantities of high-priced Middle Eastern oil, mainly from Iraq, Iran and Libya. Hence the Soviets are in a rush to develop new Siberian fields. They must invest lavishly in expensive Western equipment and drill in a remote region where operating costs will be high

Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, East Germany, Poland

The Eastern Europeans are being forced to foot part of the bill. They will pay \$3.3 billion for Soviet gas and oil this year compared with \$1.2 billion in 1973. Furthermore, prices of oil and other key Soviet export commodities (nonferrous metals, iron, cotton) will now be reviewed each year and will be brought in line with world prices, perhaps by 1978. That will hurt Rumania too.

The Communist leaders are painfully aware of the possible consequences of the price increases. Of the five uprisings that have shaken Eastern Europe since 1953, three stemmed directly from unpopular economic measures. Once again, Eastern European workers will be asked to make sacrifices. The increased fuel costs are bound to retard the growth of Eastern Europe's fertilizer, petrochemical and synthetic textile industries, and limit supplies of some consumer goods. Those goods will have to be sold to the Soviet Union to raise rubles, but Moscow is insisting on terms of trade that are likely to anger Eastern Europeans. Though the Soviets have more than doubled the fuel bill, they are offering to pay only 25% more for Eastern European imports, which cover a wide range of products, from industrial machinery to pantyhose.

RAILROADS

Wreck of the Rock Island

Oh, the Rock Island Line is a mighty good road. If you want to ride it, got to ride it

like you find it. Buy your ticket at the station on the Rock Island Line

Popularized in a folk song made famous by Leadbelly, the once mighty Chicago, Rock Island & Pacific has sold fewer tickets in recent years. In 1974 it lost \$23 million, largely as the result of higher payrolls and a 200% increase in fuel costs. It has tried to merge with the prosperous Union Pacific and has borrowed from its own employees. With much justice, it has lambasted the U.S.

Railway Association (a federal agency set up to restructure rail service in the Midwest and Northeast) for "intentional

neglect" of its financial woes Last week, three days after the USRA had snubbed its plea for a \$30 million emergency loan, the debt-ridden Rock Island Line became the first major railroad outside the Northeast since World War II to file for reorganization under the Federal Bankruptcy Act. Rescue operations began almost immediately. To avoid stranding 13,000 commuters, Chicago's Regional Transportation Authority promised to take over service in and out of the city. Meanwhile, the Interstate Commerce Commission summoned representatives from 60 railroads to Washington and indicated that it will dismember the 7,500-mile road. The ICC will parcel out some segments to other Western lines, and abandon the remainder of the Rock Island

Worst Loss. As a result, several roads operating between Chicago, the Rockies and Texas clearly stand to gain from the bankruptcy. But there will be losers, too, including hundreds of grain shippers and manufacturers who have been served exclusively by the Rock

The wreck of the Rock Island is just the latest sign of growing trouble on the U.S. rails and the failure of the Government to produce a rational rail policy for the nation. An ICC staff estimate predicts that the industry's first-quarter loss will be "worse than has ever before occurred, even during the Great Depression of the 1930s." No fewer than eight Northeast roads are in bankruptcy. And the Department of Transportation's new Secretary, William Coleman Jr., cautions: "It would be foolish simply to subsidize the rails. I think 20% of the nation's rail trackage ought to be abandoned."

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"Where did that boulder come from? I'd just managed to catch up with Sandy...spotted the rock and swerved. But my warning came almost too late. Sandy missed it...but had a great fall. Luckily, the only thing bruised was her edo."

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(All items on this page are from recent and forthcoming issues of Money magazine.)

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15. Scholarships and fellowships many graduate 16. Understanding gold.

17. What expenses you can and should - control when you

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24. Setting up a tax-deductible office in your

25. Use clout you didn't know you had to get an "impossible" mortgage.

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31. Frauds in preschool learning devices. 32. About those com34. Dealing with furniture defects and delivery delays. 35. Good colleges for less money. 36. Protection against nursing-home costs.

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42. Getting discounts for paying cash. 43. Food co-ops: getting it wholesale.

44. Insurance policies that qualify for Keogh plans. 45. What is probably the safest way to profit

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Drang nach Osten

\$15

HERZL by AMOS ELON 448 pages. Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

His contemporaries labeled him "a political Jules Verne." The term was pejorative; Verne, after all, was producing outlandish fictions about lunar voyages and undersea exploration. Herzl was even more absurd. He helped create Zionism and predicted the return of the Jews to their homeland. Yet the comparison with Verne was more than superficial. Both men began as romantic visionaries who sought careers in law, then in the theater, then in literature. Verne went on to science fiction; Herzl went on to Palestine. That bizarre journey has all the qualities of fin-de-siècle romance. It might have been told as a novel, a pageant-even as psychohistory. Instead, Israeli Journalist Amos Elon has chosen a method of slow accretion. scrupulously piling up dates and incidents, scarcely daring to speculate or interpret. The style is out of keeping with its subject. But Herzl is too powerful, too messianic to be quelled by mere facts. On the manuscript, the man is his

The easy correspondence between stage and life was never better illus-

as never better illus-



trated than in this failed Hungarian playwright who dreamed of moving characters around on an international stage. Pushed by adoring and wealthy parents, he first affected the manner of an eliganic contributing feuliteous to an eliganic contributing feuliteous to enness public. Vienna circa 1890 we enness public Vienna circa 1890 was seened the confluence of all that was worldy and intoxacting. It was also, according to Elon, a Versuchstantion of world destruction (proving ground or world destruction) (proving ground or

For much of his life Heral was strangely numb to evidences of anti-Semitism. The Zionistic notion was merely an unworked plot until the Dreyfus trial. Then, as Paris correspondent for a Viennese appar, Heral suddenly of his people. Captain Dreyfus might assume the insignin, the language, the official role, but in the end he would be betrayed and revised. Dreyfusurds marched in an honorable cause, wrote us not delude outerleys—is a lost one."

Feral Magnetism. As the Frenchman descended from hero to convict, the Hungarian rose from dilettante to provocateur. Herzl did not invent the idea of a Jewish state-the appeal of Return to Jerusalem is, after all, as ancient as the Diaspora. But Herzl alone took it from vision to plan to practicality. On the way he assumed the countenance and the stature of a prophet, sweeping all objections from his path. A feral magnetism began to animate his face and conversation. Philosopher Martin Buber was later to recall him as "a statue without error or mistake, a countenance lit with the glance of the Messiah." Freud claimed that he had seen Herzl in a dream before they met. Others were less impressed. The Emperor Franz Josef. proud of his nation's liberal airs, fumed: What would have become of this ungrateful Herzl had there not been equality of rights for Jews?" Bismarck considered Zionism no more than "melancholy reveries." Even the Rothschilds saw Herzl as a crank and refused him

These were mere irritations to Herz.¹ A light (a) is mounting around me," he noted in his diary, "which could become the cloud in which I valk." Yet, come the cloud in which I valk." Yet, except the properties of the propertie

VIENNA CARTOON "THE BIGGEST JEW ALIVE"

HERZL IN PALESTINE, 1898

Israel remained his true destination. It was an idea more than a place. Elon's index includes the category "Arab situation (Palestine), Herzl's ignorance of." Yet his instincts were empathetic. When a great Arab landowner offered to sell a huge tract, Herzl was reluctant to buy. "We cannot displace these poor fellare."

hin." he explained. Burned Out. In Herzl, the central figure moves through Europe and the Middle East like a Jewish Napoleon, rallying the poor, converting the rich, negotiating with sultans, papal nuncios and Cabinet ministers. Yet the great adventure, in the book as in life, ends before the goal is reached. Herzl died in 1904, burned out by the age of 44. It was literally in the middle of the journey. He had aroused the Jews of Eastern Europe-including a ten-year-old named David Ben-Gurion. Slowly they began the trek to Ottoman-controlled Palestine. The new Exodus was under way. Still, Britain's Balfour Declaration, promising land to the Jews, was 14 years away; Israel would not be founded for

another 44 years.

The volatile, self-inflated character remains as elusive on the last page as on the first. Terminal questions linger: Did conditions create the man, or did he create events? Was he a gifted charlatan, or Moses redivivus? It is only certain that he appeared and disappeared as if on ce-



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BOOKS

lestial cue, leaving his work to more stable founders and builders. Unhappily, as this biography reluctantly demonstrates the man was all too human-a naīf, a hack and a monomaniac. Probably a touch of madness ran in his blood: two of his three children were suicides; so was his only grandchild. But he did have the inexplicable gift of prophecy. In the operetta that was old Europe, he looked through the gilt backdrop and saw the flames of the Holocaust. In life and in history, his fearful vision has been repeatedly vindicated by the behavior of others. If that remains the best that can be said of Herzl, what worse can be said of the world? Stefan Kanfer

Sisyphus at Bay

A SEASON IN HELL by PERCY KNAUTH

111 pages, Harper & Row, \$6.95.

Whether they call it the blues, a case of the hoo-ha's or "free-floating angst," nearly everyone has wrestled with depression. Cures are various, and likely to be temporary: a cold shower, a new hat, pills, a chat with a doctor or a friend. or simply repeating to oneself that "tomorrow is another day." Many people push a burden of inexplicable saddless through half a lifetime like Sisyphus with his famous stone, and try to believe that they are happy just the same. But when Author Percy Knauth fell into a depression, none of these things worked

Knauth is a veteran correspondent, editor and writer (the New York Times. SPORTS ILLUSTRATED). Returning from Europe a few years ago, he seemed, at 57, to be sitting on top of the world; he had a wife, a young family and a bright-



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looking future as a freelancer on a series of long-term projects. Yet he kept awakening (if he managed to sleep at all) with a sense of impending doom. All day nameless dread dogged him so blooky that he could not work. Finally, closely that he could not work. Finally, cided to kill himself. So relieved was he by suicide's promise of deliverance that he broke down and wept, waking his sleeping wife, who learned for the first time how close to the edge he had gone to the could be suicided to the close to the edge he had gone to the could be suicided to the close to the edge he had gone to the could be suicided to the close to the edge he had gone to the could be suicided to the close to the edge he had gone to the could be suicided to th

This book is a brief account of what happened before and after that moment. It suffers slightly from overwriting. But Knauth can be forgiven his occasional excesses because he confronts accurately and candidy a highly personal sickness that is too little understood, and writes a confirmatively about its treatment. Word informatively about its treatment. Word informatively about its retardent. Word informative and the sum of the first one of the best—and most of its first of the first of the

Acute or clinical depression, which is characterized by dejection, fearfulness and, as the medical dictionaries phrase it, "an absence of hope," differs from garden-variety glumness as, say, double pneumonia differs from sniffles. It is not a new ailment; doctors have known about it for centuries. But medicine has only recently learned how to treat it. Merely telling a patient that his fears are groundless does no good at all. Conventional psychoanalysis is equally ineffective in most cases; Knauth visited a Freudian therapist for six months without exorcising any of his personal demons

Chemical Imbalance. A new class of drugs does seem to help. Doctors, as Knauth reports, have found that many depressed people have abnormally low levels of certain brain chemicals. Whether this imbalance is a cause of depression or one of its effects remains to be determined. What is known is that it can be corrected in some cases with drugs known as MAO inhibitors, which affect brain chemistry, not the progress of the People's Revolution in China. Two weeks after he started taking MAO inhibitors, Knauth was able to function again. He took up his old editorial projects, wrote this book and became a crusader for the National Mental Health Association Despite earnest post hoc attempts at

self-analysis (including a painful probe of his failed first marriage) Knauth still cannot say for sure what originally caused his descent into depression. Nor can he claim to be cured; just as a diabetic takes insulin, Knauth may have to take his medicine for melancholia for the rest of his life. The prospect does not seem to bother him. Unlike many victims of depression, who do succeed in killing themselves, Knauth has survived. And, as A Season in Hell dramatically demonstrates, he has used his own experience to encourage others to survive too. Peter Stoler 80



THURBER BY THURBER

Bibulography

THURBER by BURTON BERNSTEIN 532 pages. Dodd, Mead. \$15.

To some extent a great man can control his autobiographer. With biographers he must trust to luck, and James Thurber has not been lucky. A couple Thurber has not been lucky. A couple Chaires lago, an academician named Chaires lago, an academician maned Chaires lago, an academician control chaires and the 2.500 words of The Sever Life of the Visited Burton Service Life of the Writer Burton Beromes. New John Williams and Writer Burton Beromes. New John Williams and Writer Burton Beromes Men John Services and Writer Burton Burton Services and the support of the Marchaires and the support of the support of the humorist's sometimes agonizing

Holmes' book was merely plonking and dull, and thus Indicrously inappropriate, Bernstein's is plonking and offensive. What offends is not the old news that Thurber had sexual problems, drank a lot and toward the end was often outrageously abusive at parties. That description files half the writers listed in Books in Print. No adult should expect a humorist, or anyone else for that mat-

ter, to have a funny life. What is unforgivable is that Thurber's life, which was his subject matter, has been smeared with tedium. It is little service to Thurber or the reader to print windy, dozen-page letters of no high literary quality when a few quoted phrases and a sentence of summary would have conveyed the nature of most of them. Bernstein prints them, almost without excision. Bernstein, moreover, is the kind of writer who tries for breeziness by referring, for instance, to New York City as "Gotham," to England as "Albion" and to Hollywood as "the fabled Tinseltown." He sees nothing wrong, either, with writing "his scrupulously guarded virginity, hidden for so long on that same lofty pedestal where American Womanhood dwelled, was surrendered to a semi-professional demimondaine, a Folies-Bergère dancer named Ninette, and

was continued with another." (What, exactly, was continued?)

Another lapse may or may not have its source in the fact that this is an authorized biography. The author's view of Thurber himself appears to strike a fair balance between necessary admiration and necessary candor. But Thurber's first wife Althea, a campus beauty at Ohio State during his years there, appears as an unpleasant caricature-by no coincidence closely resembling her ex-husband's caricature of the engulfing Thurber Woman. Second Wife Helen Thurber, who shared his life through his years of dimming eyesight and blindness (and who did the authorizing) is treated with warmth. Clearly she deserves it, but the disparity between the two portraits nevertheless smacks of the dreary side-taking that follows any suburban divorce.

For those who want to disassemble Thurber as an eight-year-old would a broken alarm clock, the gears and springs are all here: the bow-and-arrow accident that cost him one eye at



THURBER WOMAN AT HOME
Taking sides after a divorce?

the age of six, the loopy Columbus boyhood, the insuperable Midwestern Chauvinian, the sexual shyness, the days as obec derk at the U.S. embassy in Parish the dozen straight rejections of Parish New Yorker, the friendships with Playaght-Actor Elilot Nugent and E.B. White, the odd adversary relationship with the Worker Editor Hardold Row.

By careful count, there is one good original line in this book: Thurber scribbled his marvelous drawings by the hundreds and, says Bernstein, "he gave them away like smiles." There is a good wisecrack by Hemingway: "Even when Thurber was writing under the name of Alice B. Toklas, we knew he had it in him." And there is a good anecdote not previously told: at one point after Thurber became blind, a New Yorker office boy was detailed to lead him to the apartment of a woman he was meeting on the sly, and then to dress him again when he was ready to leave. One day the office boy got Thurber's socks on wrong side out, and Helen Thurber noticed. The young man's name, Bernstein swears, was Truman Capote. John Skow

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Doctors on Strike

Pickets are a common sight in New York City, but there was something different about the workers marching in front of 21 metropolitan hospitals last week: they were doctors. In the first major strike ever undertaken by American M.D.s., about 2.000 interns and residents took to the picket lines for four days to protest what they regarded as intolerable working conditions.

The strike against voluntary and municipal hospitals with a total capacity of 12,000 beds had been brewing for a long time. Size has been at Bill, the Com3,000 members at the various hospitals, has been attempting to negotiate a new contract for its members. The problem of money was solved rather easily when of money was solved rather easily when graped to drop their demands for an 11% increase in salary. They settled with the League of Voluntary Hospitals for an League of Voluntary Hospitals for an experience of the problem of the proble

Horror Stories. But neither side would budge on the issue of working schedules. The doctors objected to a hallowed hospital tradition: occasional work weeks of 100 hours or more, including tours of continuous duty that last for 36 hours or longer with only brief breaks for catnaps. As a result, they said, exhausted interns and residents sometimes make mistakes that could otherwise he avoided. Some of the striking interns and residents told horror stories of falling asleep on their feet during operations; one admitted that he had pulled out several stitches after dozing off while holding an incision open with retractors. To reduce the chances of hospital accidents, the C.I.R. asked for a shorter week with a limit of 15 hours to a shift whenever possible.

The demand was turned down by the league, which argued that interns and residents were in reality receiving a matter for negotiation. Hospital officials and many older doctors who had good through equally grueiling initiations into medicine for much are necessary to train interns and residents and to guarantee continuity of care are necessary to train interns and residents and to guarantee continuity of care for the patient. Said Dr. S. David Pomirine. director of Mount Simil Hospital.

Patients Unaffected. C.I.R. officials claim that it was the league's intransigence that forced them to act. "We got into the strike with tremendous remorse, reluctance and every intention to improve patient care," says Dr. Jay Dobkin, 28, chairman of the doctors' negotiating committee.

Some the dispute, which was settled before week's end, had little effect on patient care. Only 46 out of a feet on patient care. Only 46 out of a feet on patient care. Only 46 out of a feet on patient set of the set of t

Under the settlement that ended the walkout, the hospitals agreed to form committees of interns, residents and physician members of their medical executive boards to work out separate agreements on work hours and patient care tailored to meet each institution's financial and medical needs. The hospitals also agreed to a C.I.R. demand that no intern or resident be required to work more than one out of every three nights, a practice most of these institutions now follow anyway.

The effects of the strike are likely to be felt far beyond New York. The American Medical Association, which has had trouble attracting younger physicians, endorsed the strikers' demands for shorter shifts. The organization's action can only encourage other interns and residents to make similar demands on hospitals across the nation.



STRIKING PHYSICIANS ON PICKET LINE

An Intern on Duty: The Longest Day

What is it like to work a 36-hour shift? That is precisely how long Dr. Edward Condon, 28, was on virtually continuous duty recently at New York City's 970-bed Elmhurst Hospital as part of his internship. The log of his prolonged "day":

Assigned to a ward that was designed for 40 patients but is sometimes crowded with 50 or more. Condon reported for duty at 8 am. He immediately began taking blood samples from patients, then at 9 am. broke off to accompany a resident as he stopped at testtients bedsites. At 130 he wellterns bedsites. At 130 he will tensate bedsites to the stopped to the tensate bedsites to the stopped to the bis lunch hour in the library reviewing patients' records to prepare himself for teaching rounds, when he would tour the ward with an attending physician. From 4 p.m., when the tour ended, until dinnertime, Condon continued his morning routine.

Condon had planned to share the overnight duty with another intern, covering the ward from 6 p.m. to midnight while his colleague slept, then catching a few hours' sleep himself while his partner watched the ward. But at 7 p.m. the hospital admitted a heart-attack victim. and Condon's plans quickly changed. While the other intern took over the ward, Condon and the resident administered powerful drugs and oxygen to the patient. When he failed to respond, they inserted a tube in his windpipe to assist his breathing. In an effort to ease the burden on the patient's heart and lungs. they drew off some of his blood and then infused only the red cells back to him over a period of several hours. Condon stayed with the patient until his condition stabilized at 7 a.m. then tried unsuccessfully to catch a catnap on a stretcher. At 8 a.m., after a three-minute breakfast of toast and coffee, he was back in the ward starting another day.

At 6 that evening, as Condon prepared to leave for home, he learned that despite the intensive care, his heartattack patient had died. The intern then had to call the patient's family, notify them of the death and ask permission to perform an autorsy.

Condon admits that such heetic shifts are not routine, but feels that for him they occur too often. He believes that tired physicians may overlook things in their examinations and "minimize the symptoms." He argues that, while fatigue is bad for a physician, it is even worse for his patient.

Fight Over Fetuses

When the U.S. Supreme Court legalized abortion in 1973, it settled some issues but stirred up others. One of the most emotion-laden is the morality of medical research on the vastly increased number of fetuses that might be considered available for experimentation because they are going to be aborted Last year Congress joined the debate and temporarily banned H.E.W. from funding experiments that are not intended to be of benefit to the living fetus before or after abortion. Congress also asked the newly established National Commission for the Protection of Human Subjects to set rules for research.

In order to do so, the commission asked for testimony from anti-abortion activists, lawyers, experts in medical morality and medical researchers. The Battelle Memorial Institute of Columbus, Ohio, a science research center, reported to the commission that tens of thousands of lives have been saved and countless future birth defects prevented by fetal research that would have been impossible under the present ban. By using live fetuses, important medical advances were made in developing German measles and Rh vaccines and in studying infant breathing problems and amniotic fluids.* At base the commission faces a classic conflict. On one hand, scientists argue that experiments that benefit countless future children must not be prohibited. On the other, many ethicists insist that benefits or no, living fetuses must be protected

It is "indisputable" that the fetus, though dependent

on the mother, is a separate organism. argued Leon Kass, a physician and professor of "bioethics" at Georgetown University. The fetus is also "human," at least in being "of human origin and in the process of becoming a human being
—if nothing interferes." Paul Ramsey. professor of religion at Princeton University, says in his new book. The Ethics of Fetal Research (Yale University Press; \$2.95), that the fetus is "live enough not to be dead, not yet mature enough to be an infant, yet a human being enough to deserve protection.

Because of such reasoning, six of the

*Amniotic fluid studies, which were used in de-velopment of the two vaccines and involved the largest number of fetuses, were experiments aimed at helping particular fetuses and are therefore not

testifying ethicists would rule out virtually all experiments that might harm a fetus, even if it is to be aborted. Ramsey drew an analogy with medical tradition that forbids risk to children and to persons who are condemned to death versibly dying or unconscious

Bizarre Scenario, Sissela Bok, a lecturer on medical ethics at Harvard and M.I.T. and wife of Harvard President Derek Bok, is concerned about the "brutalization" of scientists and of society unless most research is banned on fetuses that might be viable (that is, able to live outside the womb). At what point fetuses become viable is, of course, a subject under hot dispute. Federal guidelines proposed in 1971 limited experi-



16-WEEK FETUS IN AMNIOTIC SAC "Live enough not to be dead."

ments to fetuses less than 500 grams in weight (one fetus that weighed only 395

grams has survived outside the womb). Of the ethicists, only Episcopal Clergyman Joseph Fletcher of Situation Ethics fame justified unlimited experimentation on fetuses that face abortion, if the mother gives her consent. The traditional requirement of "informed consent" for experiments is a thorny one when the subject is a fetus. Ramsey, as well as Georgetown's Father Richard McCormick and Rabbi Seymour Siegel of Jewish Theological Seminary, pointed out that parents have been allowed to give consent for treatment of a child because they have the child's interests at heart The consent of mothers who plan to have abortions is morally questionable

Kass sketched a bizarre scenario

that would have mothers trafficking in fetuses for research use. He believes women might one day be able to perform abortions on themselves, thus creating a shortage of fetuses, and some might "become pregnant purely and simply for research purposes

Taking all this into consideration the commission must decide by May I what federal controls on fetal experiments are needed and how to apply them. Arthur Dyck of the Harvard Divinity School offered the commission a practical solution: the committee that reviews experiments in each hospital should include those who consider the fetus a "person" worthy of protection as well as those who do not.

The Uncatechism

To generations of Roman Catholics. Lutherans and Calvinists, a catechism was a manual of questions and answers on doctrine that youngsters were expected to memorize. In a book billed as the first "ecumenical catechism" since the Reformation, the Q.-and-A. format and many of the old answers are missing. Adults, not children, have been its read ers since it was published in West Germany and Switzerland two years ago.

Now translated into English, The Common Catechism (The Seabury Press: \$10.95) is timed for Easter release in the U.S. Unlike traditional catechisms, the new book has a meek tone. For example. it notes that Christ's Resurrection has been a "permanent problem" for modern man. At one point it defends belief in the Trinity by remarking diffidently that it "may not have been such a bad idea after all

The book is the joint product of 36 respected Protestant and Catholic theologians, most of them German and German-Swiss, who were commissioned to write it by Europe's Herder publishing house. The Catechism grew out of conversations at Vatican Council II between the Rev. Lukas Vischer, the ton theologian at the World Council of Churches, and his friend Father Johannes Feiner, who was later appointed to the Pope's theological commission. Although Vischer and Feiner edited the book, it lacks official Protestant status,

and the Vatican has made no comment. Continuing Disputes. Much of the Catechism covers themes that have always united Protestants and Catholics: the reality of God, the work of Christ, the importance of prayer. Building on years of ecumenical discussion, the book also claims substantial current Protestant-Catholic agreement on previous points of division like Christ's presence in the Eucharist. As for the Reformation's belief in salvation through "grace alone," as against man's good works, the Catechism professes to see little left to ar-



U.S. CATHOLIC CATECHISM CLASS (1961)
A "permanent problem."

gue about. In fact, it contends that "it would certainly have been possible" to unite Protestants and Catholics except for continuing disputes on two topics: 1) the status of Mary in doctrine and worship, and 2) the structure and authority of the church, including the papacy.

or the control, including the papeay. The Carefulm rejects a number of The Carefulm rejects a number of Calvinists have traditionally affirmed. For instance, the orthodox formulation of original sin is discarded. Because of it, old Catholic catechisms taught that it was a mortal sin not to baptize infants. The new Carefulm says that 'there can be no fundamental Objections' if parents to be no fundamental Objections' if parents are to seek baptism, as Baptists duelther to seek baptism, as Baptists duelther to seek baptism.

Following the trend of German scholarship, the book puts considerable limitations on the Bible. It says that "we can learn virtually nothing," from Scripture on specific questions of sexual morality. The Ten Commandments are "to a large extent conditioned by their age." Many New Testament passages are demade later on by the church instead of accounts of what Jesus said and did.

The Common Catechism rejects Pope Paul's 1968 decree against artificial birth control and makes a strong case for Christian social involvement Overall the book is a useful survey of the kind of European liberalism that has guided Protestant ecumenism and that is increasingly attractive to ecumenically minded Catholics. Church Historian Martin Marty, a U.S. Lutheran, thinks that the book's "vision may be the only one open to 21st century Christians." On the other hand, it may be only the vision of an ecumenical theology, while many Protestants and Catholics cling as strongly as ever to the ideas contained in their traditional catechisms.

Died. Herbert Chitepo. 51, chairman of the Zimbabwe African National Union, a black Rhodesian freedom nowement; in a land mine explosion as he backed out of his garage; in Lusaka, deais first black lawyer (a special law was required to allow him to occupy chambers with white colleagues). An organizer of the Rhodesian African Natonalist movement, Chitepo went into tomalist movement, Chitepo went into the properties of the control of the His murder shadows efforts toward black-white detente in southern Africa.

Died. Theodore Schocken, 60, president of Schocken Books, Inc., after a long illness: in White Plains, N.Y. A pew, Schocken took over his father's Applex Schocken took over his father's age of 19, issued a collection of Franz Aga, including the corrosively anti-to-talitarian novel The Trial. Publication was soon halted by the Gestapo. Driven into evile in 1938, Schocken fought Later established his own publishing house in New York, bringing out translations of Kaffas's once verboere works.

Died. Joe ("Ducky") Medwick, 63. hardhitting Hall of Fame outfielder; of an apparent heart attack; in St. Petersburg, Fla. A charter member of the St. Louis Cardinals' rambunctious "gas house gang" of the 1930s, the muscular Medwick, one of baseball's best bad-ball batters, dredged ankle-high pitches out of the dust and sent balls headed for his ear screaming over the wall. His lifetime average: .324. Short-fused Ducky was as quick with his fists as his bat. Running out a triple for his eleventh hit of the series in the seventh game of the 1934 championship between St. Louis and Detroit, Medwick was spiked by the Tiger third baseman and responded in kind, provoking a legendary riot. At inning's end, Tiger fans peppered left fielder Ducky with so many pies, vegetables and candied apples that he had to be yanked from the game.

Died. Don Jaime Borbón y Battenberg, 66, pretender to the Spanish throne: following a stroke: in St. Gallen, Switzerland. Son of Spain's last monarch, the syphilitic Alfonso XIII. Don Jaime was born a deaf-mute. He eventually learned to speak four languages, led a sybaritic life, mostly in Italy, after his father was forced to abdicate in 1931. Don Jaime renounced his claim to the Spanish throne in 1934. but began having second thoughts in the 50s as aging Caudillo Francisco Franco vacillated between Borbón claimants who he hoped would restore the monarchy. Don Jaime was bested in the regal jockeying by his handsome nephew Juan Carlos de Borbón y Borbón.

Died. Clarence L. ("Biggle") Munn.
66, football coch at Michigan State
University from 1947 to 1953; of a
stroke, in East Lansing, Mich. When
"the Big Man" was hired in 1947,
M.S. U's team was foundering. In the
first game that Biggle coxched, his Sparrans were obliterated 55-0 by scornful rivals from the University of Michigan.
Munn Tailled, crevited his "brawn
Munn Tailled, crevited his "brawn
Munn Tailled, crevited his "brawn
they won 54 games, lost only nitre and
tied won his six years as cock-th."

Died. Vincent Sheean, 75, Odyssean foreign correspondent and author; following treatment for lung cancer: in Arola, Italy. Sheean covered many of the century's key events: the rise to power of Mussolini and Hitler, the Chinese revolution of 1927, the Spanish Civil War, the London Blitz and the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi. Chafing at the shibboleth of objectivity, he adopted a personal, partisan, generally leftist tone, though his fervor cooled after the Nazi-Soviet pact of 1939. After the war he turned to biography, writing about Gandhi, Verdi, and his friends Sinclair Lewis and Dorothy Thompson. But his best work is his own Personal History (1935), a minor classic on his first years as a swashbuckling, trench-coated correspondent.

Died. Perle Mesta, 85, capital society's "hostess with the mostes" "; of an apparent heart attack; in Oklahoma -City. Famed as "Two-Party Perle" for her bipartisan hospitality, Mesta assembled Senators and Congressmen, celebrities, showpeople and occasionally Presidents for elaborately calibrated soirées over three decades. Perle's gaiety, feigned naughtiness and passion for scandalous secrets charmed a generation of guests. Heiress to fortunes from her father and her husband, a Pittsburgh steel magnate, she mastered machinetool manufacturing, invested in cattle ranching, campaigned for an equalrights amendment for women in the 1930s, and buttonholed Southwestern oil barons for contributions to her "hero" Harry Truman during his come-from-behind campaign in 1948. Truman reciprocated in 1949 by creating for her the post of Minister to the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg, where her fetes for the duchess and footloose G.I.s inspired Irving Berlin's 1950 musical Call Me Madam. Her reign as Washington's leading hostess was resumed in 1954 and continued till 1972 with a brief interregnum during the Kennedy years (she backed Nixon in 1960), though she gradually shaded into the role of dowager. Ailing from a hip injury, Mesta left Washington last year without fanfare to be close to her brother, who was holding her hand when she died.



JUSTICE WILLIAM O. DOUGLAS

Climbina Back

The Supreme Court was hard at work last week on a heavy docket. But the biggest court news was not a decision from the bench, it was a return to it. Justice William O. Douglas, 76, came back 78 days after suffering a serious stroke while vacationing in the Bahamas with his wife. Still weak in his left arm and leg, Douglas entered the Supreme Court building in a wheelchair pushed by a court messenger. Though he will have to return to Walter Reed Army Medical Center for periodic therapy, the redoubtable Justice intends to resume his seat on the high bench this week. Despite reports that the proud outdoorsman might quit rather than be wheeled to work (TIME, Feb. 17), the liberal Douglas seems determined to deprive President Ford of the opportunity to appoint a conservative jurist to the court. On the job again and in high spirits, the old mountaineer gave an optimistic order to his secretary: "Tell the press to get ready. We're going to be back walking the canal pretty soon.

The Feds Win

Who owns the rich oil deposits that lie more than three miles off the U.S. Atlantic seaboard-the coastal states or the Federal Government? Last week the Supreme Court with Justice Douglas still absent ruled unanimously that the rights to the seabed and subsoil belong to the U.S. Despite the huge potential payoff involved, the Justices deliberated swiftly and reached their decision three

weeks after oral argument. The dispute began in 1969 when Maine announced plans to lease 3.3 million offshore acres for oil-company exploration. The Government, which had always handled such leases, promptly sued Maine and twelve other Atlantic coastal states. The states' principal argument was that they had acquired rights to all offshore resources under royal charters long before the U.S. was formed. The states further contended that they had never transferred those rights to the Government via the Constitution or any other document.

Legally, their argument was a long shot-and it missed. In 1947 and 1950. the court had turned down similar claims by California, Texas and Louisiana, based on "tradition" rather than royal charter. The Federal Government's jurisdiction over foreign affairs. foreign commerce and national defense. said the court, gave it title and rights to minerals from the coastline outward to sea. In 1953 Congress returned to the states their rights out to the threemile limit, but no farther. In U.S. v. Maine, the court last week said that the states are not entitled to an inch more than Congress gave them. Thus it cleared the way for the Interior Department to start the leasing procedures for the Baltimore Canyon, a promising offshore area stretching from New Jersey to Virginia

The states, however, are unlikely to give up on efforts to get their cut of oil revenues. Said Maryland Governor Marvin Mandel when he learned of the court's decision: "The oil companies can do all the drilling they want, but they still have to deal with the states when it comes to getting the oil ashore.'

Life with Father

The equal-rights movement has bumped up against one of the most powerful bastions of male dominance in the U.S .- and moved it. Last week the men who sit on the Supreme Court, again with Douglas absent, unanimously ruled that an amendment to the Social Security Act granting aid to a widow caring for a child but not to a widower is unconstitutional. Taking a tough stand against sex discrimination, the court said that the Constitution would not tolerate the assumption "that male workers' earnings are vital to the support of their families, while the earnings of female wage earners do not significantly contribute to their families' support."

The case involved Stephen Wiesenfeld, 31, an Edison, N.J., widower whose wife Paula died in childbirth in 1972. Paula had worked as a teacher, earning about \$10 .-000 a year; her husband, a self-employed consultant, had an income of \$2,188 during the year before her death. Left to care for their infant son Jason, Wiesenfeld applied for Social Security benefits for the boy and himself. Though he won an award for Jason, Wiesenfeld was told he was ineligible because such benefits were available only to widows. Wiesenfeld sued in federal district court in Newark, charging that the act denied him equal protection and violated the due-process clause of the Fifth Amendment. A threejudge panel agreed, and last week the Supreme Court affirmed that decision.

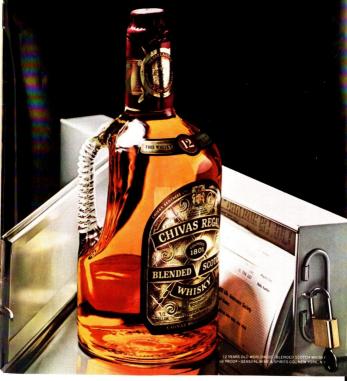
New Payments. The ruling will give fresh momentum to groups seeking to batter down legal barriers based on sex. Wrote Justice William Brennan for the court: "The gender-based distinction [in the Social Security Act] is entirely irrational."

The Government had argued that the purpose of the law was to provide an income to women who could not provide for themselves because of economic discrimination. The Justices countered by pointing out that Congress had intended the law to allow women to choose not to work and devote themselves instead to the care of children. But without a mother, said the court, "it is no less important for a child to be cared for by its sole surviving parent when that parent is male rather than female." decision allows for a new class of Social Security payments. The Government estimates that such payments would have cost an extra \$20 million last year.



WIDOWER STEPHEN WIESENFELD & SON JASON An entirely irrational distinction.

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Brand M (Filter)	12	0.9
Brand T (Menthol)	12	0.7
Brand T (Filter)	11	0.7
Brand V (Filter)	11	0.7
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